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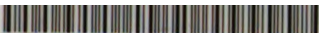
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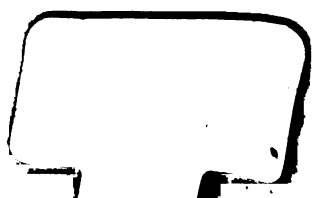
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THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., LTD.

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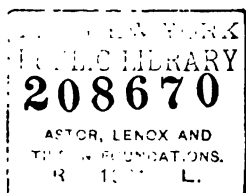
THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

BY THE
HON. A. WILMOT, K.S.G., F.R.G.S.
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE CAPE COLONY
ETC.

INTENDED AS A CONCISE MANUAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY
FOR GENERAL USE, AND AS A READING BOOK IN SCHOOLS

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., LTD.
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1901



TO
THE RIGHT HON. LORD WINDSOR, PRESIDENT
AND THE
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE
OF
The Imperial South African Association

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,
BY PERMISSION,
AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
FOR ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO
THE DELEGATES FROM
THE LOYAL PEOPLE OF
SOUTH AFRICA

A. WILMOT

February, 1901

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PREFACE

THE history of South Africa is full of adventure and romance. Something new of great interest has been constantly discovered, until this portion of the world stands before us as a land of diamonds and of gold, where the oldest auriferous workings of the world have become the newest "diggings." The nature, character, and conduct of its native races are well worth study, while a narrative of the events during the Dutch rule of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries unfolds interesting details. From the romance of the Portuguese contemporaries of Columbus, who first doubled the Cape of Storms, to the romance of the daring pioneers of the British Chartered Company who conquered an empire, there have been events as variable, as remarkable, and as well worthy of study, as those which have occurred in almost any other country of the world.

It is a mistake to look upon South African history as full of details of colonial life which are only interesting to colonists. The contrary is the case. An attempt is now made to tell, in a brief and readable form, the story of the expansion of a country in which one of the greatest and richest

empires of the southern seas is now in course of being built up. It is impossible to study thoroughly recent events in one part of South Africa, or developments in any portion of the congeries of states and colonies into which its vast territories are divided, without understanding the subject of its history from the earliest times. There are links which bind in one chain all the periods of the narrative. South Africa should never be studied piecemeal when we are considering its past history or its future career. This last remark is specially applicable to the present time, when to many causes—some remote and others immediate—the Boer War in South Africa can be attributed. A very condensed narrative of the war has been added.

The present work is, in its main features, a reproduction of the second edition of the *Story of the Expansion of South Africa*, made use of with the courteous leave of Mr. Fisher Unwin.

A. WILMOT

February, 1901

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INTRODUCTORY

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA extends from Cape Agulhas to the Zambesi; and British Central Africa, under the sway of the British Africa Company, extends northward even of that river to the Great Lakes. This territory far exceeds that of any empire or kingdom. Indeed, the country from the Cape to the Zambesi alone embraces an approximate area of one and a quarter million square miles, and thus is larger than British India, but the total population certainly does not exceed 5,000,000, and out of these only 670,000 are of European extraction.

The Cape Colony is the most southern and most populous portion, and to the northward of it are the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal Colony, Natal, Zululand, Basutoland, British Bechuanaland, the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, Pondoland (now annexed to the Cape Colony), Swaziland; and then there are the native states of Amatongoland, Matabeleland, and Ngamiland. The Portuguese possessions on the east coast stretch from Delagoa Bay to Mozambique, and on the west coast, north of the Orange River, are the territories of Great Namaqualand and Damaraland, part of which is

2 DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

under a German Protectorate. Above all are the great territories administered by the British Africa Company north and south of the Zambesi. The latter, including Mashonaland and a portion of Matabeleland, styled 'Rhodesia.'

One of the most beautiful and attractive parts of South Africa is the first to greet the eyes of the traveller who lands in Capetown, under the shadow of Table Mountain. The charming suburbs can be seen by a drive of twenty miles over the Victoria Road, round a large portion of the peninsula, along slopes washed by the ocean and overhung by mountains, through fertile valleys, smiling vineyards and woody gorges, until, passing through miles of forest, gardens and villas, the old Dutch castle is reached, and we are once more in a town, founded as far back as 1652, which now comprises about 75,000 people, of whom at least 12,000 are Malays.

Going inland by rail, we soon reach the wine districts *par excellence* of the Cape Colony. Stellenbosch, with its Dutch theological seminary, is embowered in trees. The wine stores, factories, and houses of Paarl stretch for several miles through beautiful cultivated country, filled with orange and lemon groves, peach gardens and vineyards, variegated with rows of oak, pine, and other trees. Behind a neighbouring mountain range is the Tulbagh and Worcester valley, where the rock scenery is grand, and many fruitful valleys repay the cultivator. If the railway be left at Ceres Road, and the traveller proceed through Michell's Pass, he finds a favourite health resort, Ceres, which is 2,000

feet above sea-level. Ascending still further, the heights of the Cold Bokkeveld are reached, where the mountains attain their highest point (6,840 feet) in the lofty Winterhoek peaks. On one side the streams flow to the Oliphants River, which empties itself in the Atlantic, and on the other side flows the Breede River, which enters the Indian Ocean after winding through the districts of Worcester, Robertson, and Swellendam.

The great chain of the Hex River Mountains, continued under other names from west to east, divides the country into two different spheres of character, temperature, and productions. On the coast side are extensive divisions, containing groups of productive, well-watered valleys, raising a prolific yield of grain, wine, brandy, dried fruits, and tobacco. Away above, on the plateau of the Karoo, there is the great silence of immense plains, bounded by low hills, on which, at far intervals, farmhouses are found. As in India, so in South Africa, the mountains dominate the land, and there are immense subterranean treasures of water. The rivers which occasionally pass through these plains are merely drains, but their waters can be retained by irrigation works. The soil is most fertile, and could be made to produce grain for all South Africa. The fruits, where there is water, are of the best quality, and it is not too much to say that the Karoo is one of the greatest undeveloped treasures of the Cape Colony. Many persons are singularly attracted by the dry, pure, health-giving air of this plateau, which, indeed, may be called great, as it extends

4 DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

west to east from Calvinia to Middelburg, and south to north from the Zwartbergen to the Orange River, thus embracing an area which considerably exceeds 100,000 square miles. The best sheep walks in South Africa are here, and it is probable that the finest agricultural farms may yet exist when an adequate system of irrigation elicits the generosity of Nature.

There are great rivers in South Africa, but none of them are navigable. The Orange carries at times a volume of water estimated at 50,000 tons a minute, but frequently dwindles into a fordable stream, although it rises in the Drakensbergen, drains, with its tributaries, more than 300,000 square miles, and flows for 1,000 miles from east to west, until it falls into the Atlantic Ocean. A glance at a map will show that the southern portion of the continent is too poor to do without railways. They are an absolute necessity because of the want of means of water transit, and the mining centres have enabled lines to extend from the ports to Johannesburg in the Transvaal. In the west we find a well-pastured country in the greater part of Damaraland, where there are vast herds of native cattle, but Namaqualand is a land of desolation, relieved by the richest copper mines in the world. The Kalahari Desert is somewhat of a misnomer, as in it are found many farmers who find both water and good pasturage for their flocks, but portions of it are desert seas, with waves and billows of sand.

The eastern portion of South Africa far surpasses the western, as the highest mountains, the most

DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA 5

fertile valleys, the greatest forests, and the best sheep country are here. Forest, mountain, and lake scenery combine to make the districts of George and Knysna most picturesque and beautiful. The great primeval forests extend thence in an easterly direction to Humansdorp, and in them herds of elephants are still found. An immense extent of bush country stretches still further east, and in the Addo jungle, near Port Elizabeth, which extends inland for a distance of sixty miles, with an average breadth of twelve miles, not only elephants, but buffaloes and countless herds of wild deer (bucks) make this one of the best hunting areas in South Africa. There are two great features in the eastern province of the Cape Colony, or rather two sections of its territory, styled Karoo and 'Bush' country. One is specially suited for sheep, the other for cattle. Through great parts of those districts this splendid banquet, spread by the hand of Nature, gives, not only to wild animals, but to oxen and goats, both abundant supplies and adequate shelter, while in the deep kloofs carnivora still lurk, eager for their prey. Great chains of mountains stretch across, and to go up from any of the ports is to ascend by gradations to levels varying from 3,000 to nearly 6,000 feet above the sea. After the bushy belt is passed the Karoo is reached, or, in the extreme eastern districts, rolling uplands and grassy basins and hills.

Going eastward, we find in the Transkeian territories vast masses of an uncivilised, almost savage people. Polygamy prevails, and witchcraft has not yet been stamped out. This country and Pondo-

6 DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

land are filled up with natives, many of whom periodically pour forth to take service at public works or with farmers. The great Drakensberg range of mountains forms a north-western wall or boundary both to these countries and to Natal. The territories between them and the coast comprise good agricultural lands and excellent pastoral districts, while the charming scenery and genial climate secure comfort and health to the inhabitants. The coast lands of Natal present beautiful scenes, where undulating country with sugar-cane and forest are bounded by the sapphire blue of the Indian Ocean. In this lovely semi-tropical land there are abundant supplies of delicious fruit; sugar is a well-established article of export, and now the tea industry is becoming very successful. In the higher country sheep and cattle farming are carried on advantageously.

The crown of South Africa is Basutoland, which contains the highest mountains in this portion of the continent, and therefore is the cradle of great rivers which flow into the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. This country is now densely populated by an industrious agricultural people, whose superabundant grain crops can scarcely obtain adequate markets. To the northward there are the plains of the Orange River Colony which comprises an area of 70,000 square miles, with a population of 77,000 whites and 130,000 blacks. The railway from the Cape Colony to Johannesburg passes over its vast plains, which were formerly covered with coarse grasses, over which herds of wild game formerly wandered, but

are now so altered, that sweeter varieties of pasture provide food for the sheep and oxen of the farmer, while in the 'conquered territory,' acquired from the Basutos, immense crops of cereals reward the agriculturist.

Crossing the Vaal, we are in the country of the Transvaal, which Mr. Gladstone declared should not be retained, 'even were it as rich as it was poor.' It has turned out that it contains treasures beyond the dreams of avarice, in the shape of the Johannesburg gold mines, from which more than 170,000 ounces of the precious metal can be produced each month. The yield of gold from the Transvaal alone exceeds £12,000,000 per annum in value, while the great auriferous regions of Mashonaland and Matabeleland are beginning to rise above the horizon. It is through veritable golden gates that civilisation is entering Southern Africa.

The Transvaal Colony comprises an area of 114,000 square miles, at an elevation varying from 4,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea-level, and the greater part of its surface consists of well-watered, fertile soils and rich grassy pasturage, while its mineral treasures comprise gold, silver, galena, copper, lead, tin, and excellent mines of coal. The white population is only about 80,000, and the coloured people number nearly three-quarters of a million. Johannesburg is a great centre, to which all railroads from all ports now converge. It is the centre of attraction, of wealth, and of speculation. The old Kaap fields at Barberton, with their normal quartz reefs, will again be worked. Swaziland adjoins, and is a

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mountainous pastoral mining country, governed by a paramount chief, and now comes with the Transvaal under British sway.

British Bechuanaland is very sparsely peopled, and chiefly consists of undulating prairies generally devoid of bush, but in exceptional cases dotted over with trees and patches of forest. A magnificent country for cattle ranches. Land varies in price from 1s. to 4s. 1d. per acre. The area of this territory comprises 60,000 square miles, and the population amounts to 6,000 whites and 55,000 coloured people. The Bechuana Protectorate is an enormous extension. There we behold 386,000 square miles, covering country between the Shashi and Macloutsie, and the important Tati gold fields, where are the extensive Blue Jacket and Monarch reefs. It embraces well-watered and fertile regions, fine pastoral country, and also tracts which include the Kalahari Desert, and regions where it seldom rains. Khama's territory is within it, where Christianity has had the effect of putting an end to polygamy, and to the sale of intoxicants to natives. Already the great trunk line from the Cape Colony has reached Bulawayo, distant 1,100 miles from Capetown, and is eventually to be extended through Northern Rhodesia and the Soudan to Cairo.

It is impossible to describe the various climates, soils, temperatures, and productions of the vast country, comprising nearly a million square miles, ruled over by the British Africa Company. The area of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy all combined is far surpassed in size by this new and

gigantic empire recently placed under the British flag. There are low districts, in which fever prevails; there are great high plateaux, such as Gazaland, which are magnificent countries for the agriculturist and stock farmer, where both men and the lower animals enjoy a delightful climate. Vast tracts can be covered with the best rice in the world, and coffee can be grown to an unexampled extent with every prospect of success. There is no product of nature almost which cannot be raised; and the mineral treasures of Rhodesia—the real foundation of all material prosperity for the company—are said to be such that in a short time the last El Dorado may be proved to be one of the richest. Certainly there is no instance since the discovery of America, in which greater opportunities seem to have been offered than those now given to the civilised world through the efforts of men who, while attending to their own interest, throw open immense fields for energy, capital, and labour. Mineral centres have revolutionised South Africa. They have created railways, markets for farmers, and general prosperity. The discovery of the Johannesburg ‘Banket’ reefs opened up a new era, not only for the Transvaal, but for the Orange and Cape Colonies; while now the gold of Rhodesia is stimulating railway extension, and will form a very powerful factor in the work of consolidating various and varied interests. A consummation devoutly to be wished for is the assimilation of customs duties, railway tariffs, postal and telegraph regulations, with free trade between all sections, so that the entire country may

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become practically, if not in name, 'The United States of South Africa.' This will probably soon be attained under a system of federation based upon the plan adopted in the Canadian Dominion.

The expansion of the congeries of countries south of the Zambesi has really only commenced. The Cape of Good Hope has been the Rip Van Winkle of colonies, which went to sleep in the seventeenth century, and only awakened to real life and action when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley in 1870. All the other states are of yesterday, and can be looked upon as children with a great career before them. A few statistics will make this clear. Here are one and a quarter millions of square miles, comprising a larger territory than British India, with a population of 5,000,000, including only 670,000 people of European extraction. Imports of the annual value of £14,000,000; exports, £16,000,000; and in the latter case we must calculate that gold amounts to £7,000,000 and diamonds to nearly £4,000,000. Here is indeed room for the overflowing populations and energies of the old world. Every natural advantage of climate, soil, pastures, and mineral wealth. The story of the expansion of the past can be written in a small volume, but history now is made in the southern hemisphere so rapidly that the time is not far distant when our chronicles, like our prosperity, will expand. It is the history of the beginnings of an empire in which we are now engaged. The last phase of this eventful history is the Boer War, to which due reference is made. There is reason to believe that soon under

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the British flag the dominion of South Africa will become one of the greatest and most prosperous empires of the southern hemisphere. Not only will the richest gold fields and diamond mines in the world exist in that territory, but a rule under which there will be justice to all accompanied by equal rights to every civilised man south of the Zambesi.

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I

Early History—The Hottentots, Bushmen and Kafirs—Customs,
Manners and Characteristics.

FOUR hundred years ago Southern Africa was unknown to the civilised world, except in mystic fable or obscure conjecture; to-day it is one of the most flourishing and prosperous regions in the southern hemisphere. The adage that 'there is nothing new under the sun' finds exemplification in the fact that the most ancient gold mines in the world have become its most modern 'diggings'—the 'Ophir' of King Solomon reappearing in the rich auriferous fields of the Transvaal and of the Chartered British South Africa Company. Diamond mines of unexampled wealth yield gems to the value of about four million pounds sterling per annum, and the copper mines of Namaqualand are in richness second to none in the world. But when we consider the vast extent of these territories, and

the fact that they have only been very partially explored, it is not too much to say that the immense mineral treasures of the Transvaal and Matabeleland are, as it were, merely rising on the horizon. We are only beginning mineral discovery in South Africa, and, day after day, hear of new mines of gold, iron, silver, coal, tin, and quick-silver. Our sheep walks and cattle runs are not surpassed anywhere; enormous tracts of irrigable land await cultivation; the wheat of the Cape Colony is of first-class merit, and Southern Africa can be made one of the granaries of the world. In this vast section of a vast continent, extending for thousands of miles in length and in breadth, comprising all the country from the River Zambesi to Cape Agulhas, there are, of course, a variety of climatic conditions; but, speaking generally, Nature has crowned all its benefits by a delightful, exhilarating, and healthful climate. The existence of the coloured races is an immense benefit, as, by means of them, cheap labour is obtainable, and large agricultural supplies can be constantly procured; but Southern Africa, although its population chiefly comprises the descendants of stalwart nomadic races who have migrated from a northern portion of the continent, is eminently a white man's country, where homes can be found for millions of the overflowing populations of Europe.

Four hundred years ago a few Hottentots and Bushmen dwelt in the country between the Great Fish River and Table Mountain, and the fierce Kafir nations were in course of migrating in a

southerly direction, but had scarcely reached the present confines of the Cape Colony.

The history of South Africa, preceding the arrival of the first European navigators, is shrouded in mystery. We are told by Strabo that the Phœnicians sailed down the Red Sea, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and then sailed up the African coast, so as to reach their own country by the Straits of Gibraltar. There is better evidence that in the ninth century the Arabs were acquainted with the coast as far south as Delagoa Bay ; and now we find by discoveries at the ruins of Zimbabye and other forts in Matabeleland that a people of Asiatic extraction¹ worked for gold in mines at a period so remote, that native tradition can give us no information respecting them. In the south of the continent there were Hottentots and Bushmen. The language of these people was essentially the same, being a pure form of the ancient Coptic tongue of Egypt. At least, this is the confident opinion of Dr. Bleek,² who devoted his life to the study of the subject. According to his theory, the Bushmen of South Africa are identical with the pigmies of Herodotus, and these people, together with the

¹ See Bent's account of his explorations, and the writings of Selous. The latter by no means agrees with Mr. Bent, and advances good arguments in favour of the opinion that the ancient gold workers from Asia took wives in the country, and eventually became a portion of the native tribes of the continent.

² Librarian of the Grey Collection South African Library. His work on the native languages of South Africa is very valuable. His conclusions, however, are not admitted by Dr. Hahn and other writers.

16 LANGUAGE OF THE HOTTENTOTS

Hottentots, to whom they were allied, have been by degrees, through many centuries, driven southward by more powerful tribes, until at last Table Mountain and the ocean became barriers to a further migration. If this be so, we have no trace of any aboriginal races of Southern Africa.

The Dutch settlers necessarily came at once into contact with the Hottentots, who styled themselves Khoi-Khoin, *i.e.* 'men of men,' and were originally a powerful nation divided into tribes, each of which was presided over by a chief. Their riches consisted in flocks and herds, with which they roved about seeking pasture, and carrying with them in their migrations movable villages, each hut of which was composed of poles or boughs covered with rush mats. Their clothes consisted of sheepskins, and their weapons of bows and poisoned arrows. Bold and active in the chase, they were courageous in danger, although naturally of a mild and gentle disposition. Intellectual gifts, as well as the qualities of humanity and good nature, were possessed by them. Kolben, who lived among them at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they were uncontaminated by the vices of civilisation,¹ declares that 'they are perhaps the most faithful servants in the world.' They were, however, 'dirty in their habits, slothful and indolent; and, although capable of thinking to the purpose, hating the trouble of thought.' Like most savages, they were spiritualists. They paid special reverence and attention to the

¹ *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, by Pieter Kolben. See also De Vaillant and Thunberg.

departed spirits of their ancestors. The dread of the influence of spirits was so great, that on the death of anyone the kraal in which he or she expired was immediately removed to another position. They are said to have believed in a Supreme Power, termed 'Gounza Tekquvä,' or 'God of all Gods,' as well as an evil Deity, represented as an ugly, ill-natured being, styled Toutouka. The most singular religious custom of these savages was their veneration of a particular kind of insect (Mantis), whose help they implored when in peril, or when suffering from hunger.

The Bushmen were of small stature, and dirty yellow colour, with repulsive countenances, in which there was a prominent forehead, small, deeply-seated, and roguish eyes, with a much-depressed nose and thick, projecting lips.¹ Dissolute in habits, clothed in sheepskins, dwelling in low huts, or circular cavities dug in the ground, which scarcely defended them from the weather, they seemed to form the lowest grade of the human race. Nevertheless they have left drawings and paintings in their caverns which indicate intelligence of a superior description, while their Coptic language and apparent knowledge of hieroglyphics,² lend countenance to the idea that

¹ An excellent description of the Hottentot race is given by Adolph Bonatz, quoted in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 35.

² Barrow thus describes some of these drawings (*Travels in Africa*, vol. i., p. 193):—'The different antelopes that were there delineated had each their character so well delineated that the originals from which the representations had been taken could without any difficulty be ascertained. Among the numerous animals that were drawn the figure of a zebra was remarkably well executed; all the marks and

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they were original inhabitants of Egypt, and have degenerated through ages of persecution. Certain it is that they were the most deadly and hated enemies of the Dutch settlers. Quarter was never given, and so far from any attempt being made to bring them under the influence of the Christian religion, a war of extermination was always waged against them. They were clever, irritating, and continual thieves. As far as they possibly could they persistently lived on the flocks and herds of the farmers, and the latter at last were rendered so desperate that towards the close of the eighteenth century a war of extermination was successfully waged against the Bushmen. The Hottentots did not disappear in the Cape Colony until a late period of the nineteenth century, and brandy was the chief agent in removing them.

The Kafirs of South Africa, in contrast to the Hottentots, have increased and multiplied, and at the commencement of the twentieth century are more numerous than at any previous period. While there are forty thousand people of European extraction in Natal, the Zulus of that colony exceed four hundred thousand in number. In the Cape Colony, according to the last census (1891), there were of Europeans or Whites, 376,812; other than European and White

character of this animal were accurately represented, and the proportions seemingly correct. *Several crosses, circles, points, and lines were placed in a long row as if extended to express some meaning.* See on the disputed question of the Coptic origin of the Hottentot-Bushman languages Dr. Bleek's *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* (1869), and Hahn's *Grundzüge einer Grammatik des Hereros*, Berlin.

(coloured races), 1,148,927—the latter thus forming 75 per cent. of the entire population. In Bechuana-land, Basutoland, Zululand, the Transvaal Colony, Orange River Colony, the Protectorate, and the Chartered Company's territory, there must be more than two millions of coloured people, so that it will be readily seen that at the present moment Europeans form only a fraction of the population of Southern Africa. The discovery of great mining centres must increase the number of Europeans, but the native question commands attention as one of the problems whose solution not only affects the well-being, but even the very existence, of white domination. At the outset, therefore, it is very desirable to ascertain the nature and characteristics of those great races, generally termed 'Kafirs,' which must continue to comprise an overwhelmingly large proportion of the population of Southern Africa.

Ethnically the Kafir races form a well-marked variety of the negro type, and unquestionably a distinct branch of the Bantu family. They comprise a fine tall race of men, some of whom are jet black, and others a dark copper colour. Their features are often fine, with the forehead well developed, and, both physically and mentally, they are greatly superior to the negroes of the west coast. It is erroneous to class them as of the same race with Hottentots and Bushmen.¹ One of the great authorities on the Kafir tongues divides them into

¹ Such a good authority as Dr. Keith Johnson does this. It is noticeable that Dr. Livingstone never attempts to place the Kafir and Hottentot in the same category.

two great classes—the ‘Click,’ and the ‘Alliteral.’¹ He tells us that the particular origin of these languages has yet to be discovered, and thinks that it may probably be found among the tribes which occupy the interior regions to the south or south-west of Abyssinia. ‘On many accounts there are good grounds for supposing that they are of Ishmaelitic descent, and consequently that they are of the same origin as many tribes of Arabia.’

Their government is an admixture of feudalism with patriarchal customs. The Amapakate (middle ones), or Council, is a powerful check upon arbitrary power. Its members give military service whenever called upon, and in return receive a share of spoils, and are invested with civil jurisdiction in their respective neighbourhoods. Each of them has his own followers and partisans. Every crime is punishable by a fine; and as *persons* are the property of the chief, penalties for acts of personal violence and murder are received by him. As the legislative,

¹ *Introductory Notes to a Kafir Grammar*, by the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. Warren’s epitome of the Kafir manners and customs published under the authority of the British Kaffrarian Government, is the most valuable and reliable work on manners and customs of the Kafirs in the Cape Colony; it is entitled, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*. The Reports of Commissions and Blue Books of the Cape Colony and Natal comprise voluminous details. *Kafir Folk Lore* has been written by G. M’Call Theal, and in that writer’s *History of the Boers* there is a great mass of information respecting native tribes. Information can also be obtained from the innumerable books of South African travel. The most interesting and valuable of the old works are Barrow’s and Burchell’s *Travels*, written at the beginning of this century. Kolben is unreliable, and so is Le Vaillant; but because of the comparatively early date at which they wrote they are worthy of some attention.

judicial, and executive departments are confounded, justice cannot be efficiently administered. There is neither a fixed code of laws nor any constitution or system of legislation. Lawless and predatory habits are considered praiseworthy, while the prospect of gain and the desire of revenge, are ruling passions and motives of conduct. There is no definite fixed idea of God. Some of the more thoughtful among them have some vague idea of a Supreme Being, but the national belief extends no farther than the ghosts or spirits of their departed chiefs or warriors, and, in some instances, those of their ancestors in general. To the ghosts of the departed they attribute all the powers ordinarily ascribed to the Deity.¹ Witchcraft is directly connected with this belief, and its practice is almost the only exercise of belief among these people. It has had the most powerful effect on the history of South Africa, and as an illustration of this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the extraordinary disaster caused by it in 1857, when the incantations of the Witch Doctor Umhlakaza induced the Kafirs to destroy their cattle, in order that, having, as it were, burned their boats, a desperate war of extermination could be waged by them against the hated European intruders. A girl was used as a medium, and she professed to hear strange and superhuman sounds in the earth under her feet, which eventuated in solemn and peremptory instructions from the spirits that the people must destroy their cattle and their corn so

¹ See *The Past and Future of the Kafir Races*, by the Rev. W. Holden, p. 283.

that they might rise again with vast increase, and that their enemies might be defeated and flee before them. Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape Colony, knew all this, and took the necessary precautions, so that the only result was that 70,000 Kafirs died of starvation, and the British authority became more firmly established. Nothing more devilishly cruel than witchcraft exists in the world. A rapacious chief, with equally rapacious counsellors, covets the herds and wives of a wealthy man. As a means to obtain possession of them, 'smelling out' by a witch doctor is resorted to. The victim is charged with having caused some illness or disaster by means of incantations. In vain the unfortunate man begs for death. This is never granted until, for many hours, generally for days,¹ he has been subjected to the most inhuman and revolting tortures. From all this cruelty Europeans have saved the natives, and civilisation can plead that if this alone were the result of its progress, its acts would be more than sufficiently justified.²

¹ Godlonton, in his *Narrative of Kafir Wars*, graphically describes current instances of witchcraft torture. In one instance a man, innocent of everything but having numerous cattle, is stretched bound on the ground, while large, red-hot stones are kept upon his stomach so as to burn into his intestines. In other cases victims were burnt very slowly to death by being stretched at some height above a fire. Another torture, by which an English artilleryman, who was taken prisoner, suffered death, was smearing the body of the victim, tying him to a post beside a nest of ants, and leaving him to be slowly devoured by these insects.

² As illustrative of the superstitions of the native tribes of South Africa, handed down from father to son, we subjoin an extract from the work of a very recent reliable writer, personally known to the

Among the Kafir races land is the property of the entire tribes, and individual titles cannot exist. Women are degraded to the lowest level, and by their social system classed among beasts of burden and the goods and chattels of their masters. Polygamy, of course, is universally allowed, and under a system of purchase, the number of wives bears proportion to the wealth of the husband. Concubinage is permitted, while the vilest and most degrading

author of this work:—‘We were favoured with a visit from a wise man, who bore four peculiar-looking tablets in his belt, which he used for purposes of divination. He threw them on the ground, and told the fortune by the way they fell, what side was uppermost, etc. This superstition extends among all the native races. In the colony there are people who pretend to be able to give information about lost or stolen cattle, as well as cure diseases, tell what is going on in distant places, etc. One Commandant of Police had so much faith in one of these wise men that he made him always accompany him in his inspections and patrols. A brother and a nephew of the writer were once on the way to the Diamond Fields when they lost their oxen, and when all hope of recovering them had been given up, one of these wise men informed them where to look for them, and they were recovered in the place indicated. An ex-member of the Legislative Council of Natal once informed me that he was greatly struck with a narrative told him by a person in whom he could believe. This man was a complete disbeliever in native conjuring, and happened, when travelling, to be at a place where a wise woman, by certain charms and incantations, gave him minute information about where his waggons were and what had happened on the journey. When they arrived he found out that she had been perfectly accurate. He still went on, however, in a very rude manner, declaring that she was a humbug, until the woman became enraged and said, “White man, you asked me for certain information. I gave it. What I told you was correct, and you abuse me. For this I curse you!” She then foretold that his oxen would die on the journey, some of the people would lose their lives, and others would desert him. All happened as she predicted, and the man was ruined.’—*Through Matabeleland*, by Joseph Garbett Wood, M.L.A., London, 1893.

immorality prevails.¹ One of the most competent and best-informed writers on the customs and manners of the Kafir races² tells us that marriage among the Kafirs has degenerated into slavery, and

¹ Gross immoralities are legal at certain times : Warren's *Manners and Customs*. Holden (*The Past and Future of the Kafir Races*, p. 288) thus refers to witch doctors' operations which came under his own observation, and with which he was familiar: 'Before the approach of the suspected person, the witch doctor, without any apparent knowledge of the parties, from whence they come, or what is the nature of their mission, foretells their approach, and by means not of spirit-rapping or clairvoyance, but of spirit-speaking, professes to declare what is transpiring, and it usually happens as he has prognosticated. Those persons who seek to account for these mysterious revelations without assigning them to supernatural causes, intimate that this knowledge is acquired by various persons and agencies employed by him for the purpose. There is, however, much greater difficulty in explaining these phenomena by these ordinary means than by supernatural interposition. . . . In order that a spirit may reveal what is required, the witch doctor "takes bundles of sticks and assegais, the tails of beasts, and the skins of snakes and wild animals, and ties them about all the parts of his body; also the feathers of ravenous birds, which he fixes in his hair . . . performs the most frenzied gesticulations, utters the most unearthly sounds, until the scene becomes a very pandemonium, the council chamber of demon spirits, the hall and assemblage of infernals."' Among the Zulus the victim is not only killed, but his wife and children also, while all his property is seized. Warren, in his *Kafir Manners and Customs*, pp. 89 and 90, tells us that 'In the Bush country, where the tree atns are plentiful, their nests are sought for, the poor wretch is laid down, water thrown over his body, and the nests beaten to pieces on him. This irritates the ants, and causes them to bite furiously; they also creep into the nostrils, ears, eyes, mouth, etc., producing the most excruciating pain by their bites. Sometimes a large fire is made, and the poor wretch is tied up to a pole, so close to it as literally to roast him alive. Large flat stones are also heated red hot, and placed on the groins, and applied to the soles of the feet and other parts of the body.' As regards divination by means of throwing bones, and the extraordinary accuracy of predictions which came under his own observations, see Col. J. G. Wood's work, *Through Mashonaland*.

² Warren, *ut supra*.

that among them not only is seduction not punishable, but no disgrace whatever attaches to it. It is noticeable that this is also the case both with respect to theft and drunkenness. The bold robber of cattle is second only in merit to the successful slayer of men. Truth is not known as a virtue, while lying and dissimulation are the weapons of diplomacy.

We have referred to the salient features of Hot-tentot and Kafir character, laws, and customs. It is now necessary to trace the history of the gradual conquest of these savages by people of European extraction. The story commences as far back as an early period in the seventeenth century, and the warfare still goes on, although the position now gained is the mastery of that part of the continent which extends from Capetown to the Zambesi. A wonderful expansion of the realm of civilisation has taken place, and it is our object to chronicle the slow and gradual steps of the first Dutch commanders, the more assured progress under British rule, and the wonderful march of events since the discovery of diamonds in the year 1870 to the overthrow of the Dutch Republics in the year 1901. The record is one of absorbing interest and importance. The foundations of a great federated empire have been laid, and under the British flag we can now look forward to the establishment of a vast 'dominion' in a country nearly as large as Europe.

CHAPTER II

Early Portuguese Discovery—Diaz and Da Gama—Dutch and English visit the Cape—The Dutch East India Company form a Settlement—Van Riebeeck the first 'Commander.'

THE grand ambition of Prince Henry of Portugal¹ was the prosecution of maritime discovery, and to the furtherance of this object he devoted all the energies of his life. The progress of discovery was, of course, gradual. Madeira became known in 1418; an expedition sailed round Cape Nun in 1433; and at last, in 1440, Cape Blanco was reached. Nuno Tristan doubled Cape Verde in 1446; three of the Azores were seen by Gonsalez Vallo in 1448; and some years afterwards Portuguese vessels anchored off the shores of Sierra Leone. Diego Cam reached 20° south latitude in 1484, and, on the other hand, a few years previously Pedrao de Carvalhas had gone from Egypt to the Red Sea, and thence to the East Indies, and back to

¹ As to the life of Prince Henry, see Barros; also *Vida do Infante Don Henrique*, by Candido Lusitano, translated into French by the Abbé Cournaud. An excellent *Life of Prince Henry*, by Major Longmore, can be more easily consulted. In one of the treatises prefixed to Mickle's Translation of the *Lusiad* (vol. i. p. 47) it is stated that Prince Henry always professed that 'to propagate the Gospel was the great purpose of his designs and enterprises.' Certain it is that the same principles inspired King Emmanuel, under whom the Eastern world was discovered by Gama.

Sofala on the East African coast ; so that there was every reason to believe, ' as well for the reason of the thing as from the concurring opinion of the seamen conversed with,' that a short and easy passage might be found round the continent of Africa to the Indies. The acquirement of riches, the extension of Christianity, and specially the destruction of the monopoly of Eastern commerce enjoyed by the Italian Republics, were the ruling incentives to Portuguese maritime discovery. So ardent was the desire to reach India by sea, that to effect this object no labours were considered too arduous and no dangers too great.

There is an analogy between the discovery of America and of the passage round the Cape to India. It was in the same city (Lisbon), and almost in the same year, that both schemes were concerted. Both projects had the East Indies in view as an ultimate object, Columbus merely finding the American continent in his endeavour by a western route to reach India. Columbus in his search opened an unexpected world to mercantile enterprise ; but Diaz and Da Gama unlocked the gates of a new highway to the regions of the old world. Columbus was supplanted by Amerigo Vespucci, and Bartholomew Diaz by Vasco Da Gama. Both were unfortunate, and treated with ingratitude while living, though commemorated and honoured after death, as if Honour's voice could

'provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death.'

It was in the year 1486 that three small vessels under the command of Bartholomew Diaz doubled

the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 14th of September of that year took shelter in Algoa Bay, after having previously anchored at Angra Pequena, and set up a cross there. So many gales were experienced that the southern promontory, near which they had suffered, was styled by them the 'Cape of Torments'; but subsequently the name of Cape of Good Hope was conferred on it by 'John, the second king of Portugal, for that hope which he conceived of a way to the Indies.' This great commander returned to Lisbon in 1487, sailed subsequently to Brazil, and at last, on the 29th of May 1500, found a mariner's grave off that Cape of Storms of which he had been the first European discoverer. The glory of finding the new highway is his; the southern ocean into which he led the way is his grave, and the Cape which towers above it his monument.

Vasco Da Gama sailed out of the Tagus on the 8th of July 1497 in command of a little fleet of small vessels, manned by only 160 men. When we consider that they knew full well what storms and difficulties had been experienced in the previous voyage of Diaz, and that they had to penetrate further into unknown seas, we cannot but admire the heroism of these mariners, whose deeds are worthily commemorated by the greatest Portuguese poet, who sings of—

'Arms and the heroes, who from Lisbon's shore,
Through seas where sail was never set before,
Beyond where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast
And waves her woods above the watery waste.'¹

¹ The *Lusiad* of Camoens, translated by Mickle. The voyage must have seemed strange and adventurous, as even the sky above

St. Helena Bay, on the west coast of the Cape Colony, was reached on the 7th of November 1497. We are told that the natives appeared to be small, black, and ugly; their voices were disagreeable; and the weapons they used were made of 'wood hardened in the fire, pointed by the horns of animals.' On even the first occasion of meeting natives the Europeans endeavoured to overawe them. Two pieces of ordnance were fired off in order to strike terror, and we cannot, therefore, be surprised that a fight shortly afterwards took place in which Da Gama was wounded. It is added that this commander afterwards 'made himself dreaded whenever the treachery of the natives provoked his resentment.' Mossel Bay was afterwards visited by the expedition, and on Christmas Day more easterly shores were sighted, and named *Tierra de Natal*, in honour of the Nativity.

The storms are specially referred to—

To tell the terrors of the deep untried,
What toils we suffered and what storms defied;
What mountain surges mountain surges lashed,
What sudden hurricanes the canvas dashed.

Lusiad, Book IX.

With such mad seas the daring Gama fought
For many a day and many a dreary night;
Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,
By bold ambition led. THOMSON.

changed during their progress so as to present to them new stars and constellations.

'While nightly thus the lonely seas we brave,
Another pole-star rises o'er the wave;
Full to the south a shining cross appears,
Our heaving breasts the blissful omen cheers—
Seven radiant stars compose the hallowed sign
That rose still higher o'er the wavy brine.'

The Portuguese did not think it worth while to establish any settlement on the shores of the stormy Cape, and England followed this example. The half-way house to India became only a primitive post-office, where letters were frequently left for the commanders of ships.¹ Various visits were made by the ships of several nations. M. de Gonneville and the French ships under his command experienced a fierce storm off the Cape of Good Hope, while Francisco D'Almeida, Count of Abrantes, first Viceroy and Governor-General of Portuguese India, was killed by Hottentots on the Grand Parade, Capetown, where the General Post Office now stands.² The English ships under Captain James Lancaster anchored in Table Bay (then called Saldanha Bay) in 1591, and for upwards of ninety years Portuguese ships almost monopolised the carriage of spices, silks, and other Eastern produce from India to Europe round the Cape of Good Hope.

The Dutch had been unsuccessful in discovering a north-eastern passage from the European seas to China, and looked with extreme jealousy upon the success which had attended Portuguese enterprise.

¹ Pedro de Nueva, for instance, is recorded to have found in an old shoe on the Mossel Bay shore, a written description of the state of affairs in Portuguese India, addressed to him by P. de Alayde.

² Camoens makes the 'Spirit of the Cape' say—

'With trophies plumed behold a hero come,
Ye dreary wilds prepare his yawning tomb.

Quiloa's sons and thine Mombaze shall see
Their conqueror bend his laurelled head to me.'

The wizards of Cochin had predicted that he would never pass the Cape.

A Dutch merchant, who happened to be imprisoned in Lisbon, inquired diligently into the mysteries of Eastern commerce, and offered to some traders of Amsterdam, if his release were purchased, to communicate the precious information which curiosity and observation had enabled him to gain.¹ His proposals were accepted, and when set at liberty his revelations excited the men of Holland to an enthusiastic resolve. They were determined to have a share in the treasures of India. As a means to that end a squadron of four ships was despatched under the auspices of 'The Association of Distant Lands.' These were the first Dutch ships which anchored in Table Bay. Numerous squadrons followed, and the Cape soon became a place of call for the vessels of all nations. Davis, the Arctic voyager, was a visitor in 1607, and the Dutch Admiral Maaklof left a number of rams and ewes on Robben Island in the following year; Henry Middleton called in 1607, and Captain Sharpey in 1608. An abortive attempt was made by the English East India Company to establish a penal settlement at Robben Island in 1614, and in 1620 two English captains, named Shillinge and FitzHerbert, after a consultation, on the 3rd of July 1620, erected the British flag on the shores of

¹ See *Lectures on the Cape of Good Hope*, by Judge Watermeyer, p. 3. This is a very valuable and scarce work, embodying in an able and enlightened manner the philosophy of the history of the Cape Colony under Dutch rule. As authorities on early Cape history should also be quoted *Verhaal der O. J. Compagnie*, Du Bois's *Vie des Gouverneurs General* and the *Cape Historical Annals*, translated by Moodie.

Table Bay, and declared that they took possession of the country in the name of King James. Their principal arguments in favour of taking and keeping the Cape were, 'That this great country, if it were well discovered, would be kept in subjection with a few men and little charge, considering how the inhabitants are but naked men, and without a leader or policy'; that the Dutch, who evidently intended to form a settlement, would be shut out; and that the British fleets on the Indian route 'might be refreshed.'

No attention was paid to these mariners, and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the supreme importance of the Cape as a strategic position was recognised. Indeed, South Africa up to a very recent period has been a Nazareth, from which it was presumed no good could come; but numerous recognitions have been forced upon the world. About the beginning of this century Lord Malmesbury was compelled to declare that 'If you the French are masters of the Cape and Trincomalee, we shall hold all our settlements in India and the Isles of France and Bourbon entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure; they will be ours only as long as you choose we shall retain them; you will be sole masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent on you.'¹

No part of the southern hemisphere has been so slow in having its merits recognised as the Cape Colony and adjacent territories. It was compara-

¹ Quoted by Barrow in the first edition of his *Travels in South Africa*.

tively *terra incognita* until diamonds were discovered in 1870. A wild country, troubled with ferocious savages and constantly recurring wars, offered few inducements to emigrants; but the discovery of immense mineral treasures, like a magician's wand, has entirely changed this position, and regions which export gold and diamonds annually to the amount of more than eleven million pounds sterling are now regarded with respectful attention by the world. Nor is this all, or nearly all, for it is specially a land of good hope; and we shall see that still greater epochs, marked by even greater successes, are probably before us.

A book by Sir Thomas Herbert¹ introduces us to the Cape in 1626, and we notice it because of the decisive manner in which he sums up the characteristics of the Hottentot race. According to him they were inveterate thieves. 'The cattle they sold us, had they not been secured by tying their heads to some stakes, would break after the savages upon one man's whistle.' They were thoroughly deceitful, untrustworthy, and perfidious.² In fact, if his opinions

¹ *Travels by Sir Thomas Herbert*. There is a copy in the South African Library, in which among the plates is a representation of Table Bay, where the mountains are named Herbert's Mount, The Table, Sugar Loaf, and King James's Mount.

² Sir Thomas Herbert says, 'To sum up their character with that which Salvian *libro de vero judicio* gives of other Africans when he says they are "inhumani, impuri, ebriosi, falsissimi, fraudulentissimi, cupidissimi, perfidissimi, et obscænis, libidinum omnium, impuritati et blasphemii addictissime," etc.; and for a farewell take that which Leo gives the Libyans, "They have no letters, faith nor law, living (if it be a life) like wild beasts for ignorance, like devils for mischief, and like dogs for poverty." This scarcely accords with what Voltaire writes about the "noble savage."'

be accurate, we are furnished with an explanation of a great portion of subsequent history. As in the case of the Hottentots, so in that of the Kafirs, people in Europe, who possess no real practical acquaintance with their character and conduct, have blamed colonists in a most sweeping and unjust manner for acts in which, had they themselves been similarly placed, they would undoubtedly have participated. We shall see in due course how much evil this description of injustice has done, both to natives and Europeans. A due knowledge of savage character and conduct is absolutely necessary for the student of colonial history who desires to judge impartially.

In the year 1648 the ship *Haarlem* was wrecked in Table Bay. Two of the seamen on their return to Holland addressed a memorial to the directors of the Dutch East India Company, strongly urging the establishment of 'a fort and garden' at the Cape of Good Hope. As the Chamber of Seventeen had in 1619 adopted a resolution in favour of this proposal, very little was now needed in the way of information and advice to induce them to carry it into execution. Accordingly, three ships, named the *Dromedary*, *Heron*, and *Good Hope*, were fitted out, and on the 5th of April 1652 Surgeon Van Riebeeck, who commanded the expedition, 'got sight, God be praised, of the land of the Cabo de Boa Esperanza.' On the 7th of April they anchored beside 'the Fresh River,' and when a boat's crew went ashore, a box of letters was found, left by Jan Van Teylingen, the commander of the homeward-bound fleet.

On the 9th of April 1652 Van Riebeeck assumed the government of the embryo colony. Exactly one hundred and sixty-eight years after, on the 9th of April 1820, the first ships bringing British settlers to the eastern districts anchored in Algoa Bay. Fifty years subsequently diamonds were found at Kimberley. During the thirty years which have since elapsed, the auriferous treasures of the Transvaal have been thrown open to the world, and to-day we chronicle not only the overthrow of the last and greatest savage power of South Africa, but of that Dutch Bond predominance which so long unfavourably influenced the progress of Southern Africa. The importance of the history of this portion of the continent is in converse ratio to the lengths of the periods into which it can be naturally divided. There was comparatively little progress or prosperity in the first long period just alluded to. An improved but not much accelerated ratio is traceable in the second; but in the third the rate of progress was entirely changed, and more has been done in twenty years than was effected in the previous century. We have entered upon a time, indeed, when the expansion of Southern Africa is taking place so rapidly that books can be written upon the exciting events of even one year. And such being the case, it is evident that, in spite of the comparative length of the first two periods of our history, it is out of the question to treat them in detail. Indeed, the chronicles of the Cape commanders concerning the trifling events of an infant settlement need only be briefly alluded to. The

stream of Cape history is not only very tiny at its commencement, but it remains exceedingly diminutive for very many years. The settlement was a petty one even when conquered by the English in 1806, and under such circumstances, it is neither desirable nor necessary to do more than refer to interesting events illustrative and indicative of the character of the people, the policy of the Government, and the beginning of that expansion carried on subsequently by the Voortrekkers.

The sole aim of the Dutch Company in forming a settlement at the Cape was to establish a place of refreshment for their ships, both outward and homeward bound. The cultivation of vegetables, and acquiring cattle from the natives were, therefore, among the principal duties of the new Government. A little fort was built, barter with the natives commenced, and everything possible was done to keep the Hottentots in good humour. The instructions from the Company very sensibly enjoined that any quarrel with them should be avoided. This was merely, however, the result of expediency, as we find Commander Van Riebeeck lamenting that he was prohibited from seizing ten or twelve thousand head of cattle, and sending their owners to India to be sold as slaves. In the early records there is a good deal about the observation of religion, but in reality it is difficult to find much to admire in the opinions and conduct of the Governors. When a French ship anchored in Saldanha Bay, efforts were made to get the seamen to desert, and, with the utmost duplicity, an attempt was made to lure the captain

to Table Bay in order that his ship might be destroyed.¹ On the 19th of October, when long religious services were being held, the first cattle raid took place, when a large number of cattle was carried off by the Hottentots. This robbery was perfectly unprovoked, and is only an illustration of the fact that savages are perpetually thieves. The cause of countless subsequent native wars was the cause of the first one—the theft of cattle. As this forced the labourers to eat unpalatable penguins instead of good beef it made them extremely exasperated, but they had to bide their time. They were not yet strong enough to attack the Hottentots. These children of nature were soon shrewd enough to notice that brick had replaced wood in the European buildings, and that extensive gardens were in course of being cultivated. They objected to any permanent occupation of any portion of their pastures, and as a protest against it built their huts

¹ In a despatch from Van Riebeeck he excuses himself for liberality to foreign ships on the ground that much of the beef he sent on board was unsound. To give an idea of the number of vessels that visited Table Bay at this time, it may be mentioned that in 1656 forty-four called, thirty-five of which were Dutch, five English, and four French. One of the principal Dutch explorers was Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten, whose first book, published in 1595, gave an account of Portuguese maritime discovery near the Cape of Good Hope. His description of India was published in 1596. Linschoten's map of South Africa is one of the curiosities of cartography, the true source of the Nile in great lakes in the centre of the continent being accurately shown. On the east coast of South Africa there is one magnificent river, and east of that is 'Monomotapa' thickly dotted with towns. Hakluyt's *Principal Voyages, etc.*, London, 1599, and Purchas *His Pilgrimage*, London, 1625, give narratives of the first English voyages to the East.

as close as possible to the fort. Soon there was not sufficient ground at Table Bay for the stock of the Company and of the Hottentots. The latter, therefore, were ordered to move. Their reply was that the ground belonged to them. The Commander answered that the Company had taken possession of it. Later on the unfortunate natives suffered heavily from not being able to graze their cattle on the rich herbage at the foot of the mountains, but knowing the superior weapon of the white men they feared to attack them. They adopted instead a system of guerilla warfare, carried on by means of systematic and continuous theft. At last the burghers could tolerate this state of matters no longer, and called upon the Government to protect them.

'The true object of attacking their enemies was not booty in cattle, nor revenge—for that belonged to God alone,' etc., etc. A few savages were killed on this occasion, and a treaty of peace was soon afterwards entered into. By degrees, as the settlement increased in strength, a firmer attitude could be taken, and was assumed. In 1671 natives who were caught in the act of sheep stealing were brought to the fort, soundly flogged, branded, and sent to Robben Island. The astute Commissioner Overbeck, who visited the Cape about this time, thought it would be expedient to make a formal purchase of the country. The Hottentot chief applied to consented very readily, for the excellent reason that by this bargain nothing was taken from him which was not already lost. By this pompous and utterly absurd agreement—still preserved in the Registry of Deeds Office, Capetown

—the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout and Saldanha Bays, was sold in perpetuity to the East India Company of Holland. Goods to the nominal value of four thousand reals of eight (£800) were to be given in exchange. In a despatch to the Directors the value of the goods actually transferred to the natives is put down at £2 16s. 5d. Of course this was a dishonest bargain, dishonestly carried out. The land already was in possession of the Company; the seller had no choice whatever; and even the value in goods stipulated was not paid.

During Van Riebeek's time expeditions were sent into the interior. The Paarl Mountain was named and the little Berg River discovered. The Namaquas were encountered, and an expedition under Jan Danckert set out for 'Monomotapa.' Imported slaves were sold on credit at prices varying from £4 3s. 4d. to £8 6s. 8d., and when, at the end of ten years, Commander Van Riebeek was ordered to Batavia he left a little vegetable and cattle-raising settlement firmly established for the refreshment of the fleets of the Dutch East India Company. He was very anxious to be removed, and was treated unjustly by his strict taskmasters in Holland, who grumbled about the settlement having to import rice. They declared that they saw no advantage in a country which could not produce its own food, and were of opinion that farmers were badly wanted at the Cape. His term of office having expired in 1661 he went off gladly to the Dutch El Dorado of the East—Batavia, and Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER III

Events under Dutch East India Company Rule—The History of a Narrow Monopoly—Arrival of Huguenot Emigrants—The Rule of the Van der Stells—Shipwrecks—Capture of French Ships in Table Bay—War with the Hottentots and Bushmen.

AN expedition was sent by the Dutch against Mozambique, intercourse with Madagascar took place, and the island of Mauritius became a dependency of the Cape. Van Quaelberg and Borghorst succeeded Wagenaar, and harsh regulations were considered necessary for the Hottentots. It is noticeable that about this time (1671) the country about Mossel Bay was surveyed, and a little liberty to trade was accorded to the Company's servants. Amid the dreary, tiresome and most diffuse *Annals of Dutch Rule*,¹ which have been carefully preserved and virtually republished at full length, we find occasionally something that is dramatic, which can be read with interest. On the 9th of May 1660 the French ship *Marichal* put into Table Bay, and on the 19th of the same month was wrecked in a heavy north-westerly gale. The Governor of one of the French Factories at Madagascar, together with a Catholic

¹ *Annals of Cape of Good Hope*, by Moodie; *History of the Cape Colony* (Wilmot and Chase); *History of South Africa*, and *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, by Theal. These works go into the minutest details, and are monuments of patient labour.

bishop and three priests, were among the passengers saved. A proclamation was issued, without loss of time, prohibiting all religious services in the settlement except those of the 'Dutch Reformed Church,' so that these poor shipwrecked strangers were not allowed to worship God in their own manner. The bishop, it is said, was a man of great wealth and good family, who had exchanged a career of dissipation for a life of sincere piety. He had devoted himself to Madagascar missions, and, although this was the third time in which he had in vain sought that island, he nevertheless determined to charter a ship on his return to Europe, and again tempt the perils of the sea.

Pieter Hackiüs succeeded Borghorst, and he in his turn gave way to Van Brengel, Isbrand Goske, Johan Bax, Van Herentals, and Hendrik Crudop. 'The Wee Wee German Lairdie' is a type of these insignificant commanders of an insignificant settlement. A stone fortress was built on the shores of Table Bay, which, strange to say, was considered impregnable, although in an absurd position commanded by the neighbouring heights. The census of 1679 showed that the inhabitants of the settlement comprised 142 free men and women, 117 children, 30 European menservants, and 191 slaves. It was in this year that Mr. Simon Van der Stell, a clerk in the office of the Chamber of Seventeen, was appointed commander. His wife declined to go to such a savage region as South Africa. On his arrival he found the little colony comprised only a few huts at the foot of Table Mountain, a cattle station at

Tygerberg, and outposts at both Hottentots Holland and Saldanha Bay ; but in his time, during twelve years, it spread over the lovely and fruitful country bounded by the mountains of Drakenstein and Hottentots Holland. The Dutch had already begun to show their trekking propensities, and the interior was explored as far eastward as George, and as far northward as forty or fifty miles beyond the Oliphant River. Stellenbosch, named after the Commander, was established, and tree planting on a comparatively large scale was commenced. In August 1683 an expedition was sent into Namaqualand, the fame of its copper mountains forming the chief attraction ; but so barren and desert was the country that the explorers were forced to return without penetrating into these rich mineral regions. The Commander himself subsequently visited Namaqualand ; but although he ascertained its great wealth, these treasures of copper were never mined until after a lapse of nearly two hundred years, and the Cape Copper Mining Company during the latter part of the nineteenth century has been reaping a harvest which was ready for the sickle under the rule of the Netherlands Company.

The rule of the Dutch Company at the Cape was that of a narrow monopoly. There was neither freedom nor pretence of freedom. Trade belonged to the Government, and was its perquisite, and any permission to traffic given to the burghers was an exceptive indulgence. The mere desire of a place of refreshment for ships only required a very small garrison, whose principal duty was to cultivate

gardens and obtain oxen for the outward and homeward-bound fleets. There was no desire at first to obtain a large accession of territory; but, nevertheless, certain tracts of ground near Table Bay were required for pasture, and in a cunning manner, as has been described, nominal purchases of land were made from the native tribes. But after the first quarter of a century of possession there was no affectation on the part of the Dutch authorities that native claims to land should be respected. Thus the land of Waveren, subsequently called Tulbagh, was soon added, and—the authorities sometimes preceding the inhabitants, more frequently the colonists preceding the authorities—possession was taken from time to time of the lands to the north and the east, until the arid wilderness northwards and Kafir defiance eastward formed the boundary of European encroachment.¹

Nothing can be plainer than the course followed. The native tribes were, in the first instance, so powerful that conciliatory measures, and the ostensibly fair means of obtaining land by purchase had to be adopted. The Dutch soon gained strength in proportion as the Hottentots, enervated by European vices and frequently defeated, became weaker and less able to resist. What at first was advisable soon became unnecessary, and land was annexed without form or pretext, as convenience dictated. The early

¹ So says Mr. Justice Watermeyer, whose eloquent lectures on the early history of the Cape of Good Hope form one of the most important contributions to the study of the subject. The lectures of Mr. Justice Cloete on early history specially bearing on Natal are also of great value.

colonists and the Government were strongly opposed to shedding blood, except in defence; and at first prudential reasons contributed to this feeling. Indeed, 'for the greater part of the first century of the Dutch occupation the life of the black man was as sacred as that of the white; and the atrocities, at which we shudder, of the men who hunted down Bushmen like wild beasts, were reserved for the end of the last and the commencement of the present century.'¹

It is remarkable that no effort worthy of the name was ever made to civilise the natives. Christianity does not seem to have been considered fit for Hottentots, while the Bushmen thieves, whose slaughter we shall have to chronicle, were regarded as mere outcasts and pariahs, to be shot down as wild beasts.

In the little settlement the term 'Cape Freeman' was a misnomer. The Commander and the Grand Council of Polity exercised the inconsistent functions of the Executive, the Legislature, and the Supreme Court of Justice, so that they could constitute any act a crime, and then punish it. There was, it is true, a right of appeal to the Indian authorities at Batavia; but woe betide the man who dared to exercise it. The current ran smoothly until the Huguenot emigrants were introduced, and then rather dramatic proceedings command our attention.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused an exodus of Protestants from France, and they became so numerous in the Netherlands, that in the year

¹ Mr. Justice Watermeyer.

1687 the Dutch East India Company saw the possibility of sending detachments of them to the Cape. They knew that in their settlement the vine grew luxuriantly, and they were desirous of sending men out whose knowledge of vine culture and wine-making would enrich the settlement. One hundred and seventy-six Huguenots were sent out.¹ They commenced to grumble shortly after their arrival, and continuously disturbed the Government with their grievances. They complained of the manner of their location, and of being forced to form a portion of a Dutch congregation. When a deputation waited upon the Commander at the castle, and on behalf of their countrymen requested permission to establish a separate church, the Governor flew into a rage, and declared that the French were the most impertinent and ungrateful people in the world. They were, in reply, reminded of their oath of allegiance, and commanded to return to their homes. The Dutch colonists evidently took the part of the Government, as many among them refused to hold intercourse with the new-comers, and said that they would rather give bread to a Hottentot or to a dog than to a Frenchman. Some years afterwards, in the time of the younger (Willem Adriaan) Van der Stell, the sparks of discontent to which we have

¹ Within the following twenty years various families followed, but never more than two or three at a time. The total number of Huguenots who came to the Cape could not have exceeded 300. They had to give up their language. Numbers of Boer families now bear French names. Theal, in his *History of South Africa*, publishes elaborate lists, and furnishes the most minute details.

just referred were fanned into a dangerous fire. Petitions were sent to Holland complaining of the unrighteous and haughty tyranny of the Governor, that he avariciously had seized upon the best lands, filched cattle from burghers, excited the Hottentots to commit injuries, and committed numerous other offences. The clergyman also is attacked, and charged, amongst other things, with being from home when children were brought to be baptised. The brother of Van der Stell is referred to as being 'as full of mischief as an egg is full of meat.' This 'younker' is charged with having, at the Governor's desire, bribed several men 'to assault and cudgel two ancient burgher councillors, so that they should feel it.' Two petitions, couched in the strongest language of invective, were sent—one to Batavia, and the other to the Chamber of Seventeen. An opportunity of forwarding the latter to Holland was being sought when Van der Stell received intelligence from Java that the petition had reached the Governor-General of India. An investigation took place, which in a small community could scarcely fail of success. Adam Tas, who was found to be the ringleader, was arrested, and his papers seized. Vigorous measures were taken to secure the traitors, but those that avowed they were misled were offered pardon if they would come before the authorities and declare their repentance. Those who chose discretion as the better part of valour were treated to tobacco and copious draughts of beer, while 'the wicked and malicious inhabitants,' who had issued libellous documents and seduced others from their

virtuous courses, were told that, in default of speedy repentance, they were to be treated as seditious mutineers. The French refugees and the later Dutch colonists were the malcontents. Nine recusants fled into the interior, and were pursued by mounted soldiers, but in vain.¹ The Governor certainly did not consider himself guilty, as he banished several of the mutineers to Holland, and these men lost no time in procuring powerful friends and obtaining an order for the recall of Van der Stell. The home Government evidently did not believe that Van der Stell had been guilty of the atrocities laid to his charge, as he was expressly allowed to retain his rank and pay. It was recognised that very ample authority had been placed in his hands, in the exercise of which errors of judgment were to some extent inevitable when he had to deal with men of a turbulent and discontented character, who did not scruple to exaggerate, and bring charges which could not be proved.²

¹ One of the refugees is referred to in a book published in Holland in 1713 as having escaped from the French King's dragoons, and arriving at the Cape as to a safe retreat, to find "that the Governor as well had dragoons at his command, and through whom he could make the place intolerable."

² Numerous pamphlets, teeming with abuse, refer to Van der Stell's administration. Of course he had his friends, and these replied. He does not seem to have been quite the monster he is made out to be by his enemies, as Van de Marre, the poet, sings his praises, and abuses the discontented burghers, in *Ein Kroon Van de Kaap de Good Hoop*. Van der Stell became celebrated in Holland for his devotion to literature and science. He is referred to by Burmann as the *Praestantissimus Botanophilus*, who did much for natural science when at the Cape. It is significantly in favour of Van der Stell that long afterwards, when the writing-desk of Adam Tas was opened, under Governor

The history of the Cape Colony is interspersed with narratives of shipwreck. At one time a Portuguese, at another time a French ship is lost on the coast, and in many cases the survivors suffer much from exposure and long marches. Few of the Dutch East India Company's vessels left their bones on the rocky shores of South Africa. The *Stavanesse*, however, was an exception. On the night of the 16th of February 1686, in calm weather, the look-out reported that he saw land, but the officer of the watch knew better, and declared that it was mist. Presently the roar of the surf was heard, and the vessel went to pieces on the coast, seventy miles south of Natal. Eleven of those on board were drowned, and sixty souls reached the shore alive. Three officers, unable to travel, were left behind in a tent, but fifty-seven men determined to reach Table Bay by a march overland. Ten of these soon became fatigued and abandoned their companions. The remaining forty-seven however went boldly on. The men left behind were, after all, better off than the others, as two Englishmen came to visit them, who had lost their vessel in the preceding year within the Bay of Natal. They had been living for nine months with the natives, and knew their language so well as to induce the party to allow them to conduct it and portions of the wreck to Natal. Other Englishmen were there

Van Assenburgh, the Council of State appointed a committee to examine the documents in it, and it was reported that some of them were seditious. These were destroyed, and the others returned to Tas, who called his estate *Libertas*, as a punning way of declaring that he, *Tas*, was now free.

encountered, and, by united effort, a very seaworthy little vessel, named the *Centauries*, was built. In this they successfully sailed to Table Bay. The authorities there were naturally very anxious about the fate of the forty-seven men left behind, and sent out the staunch little ship again to search for them. Off the Cove Rock, near the mouth of the Buffalo, a small raft was seen with three naked men upon it, paddling towards the vessel. These were part of the unfortunate crew of the *Stavanesse*, who stated that eighteen others were on shore. Out of this number fourteen were rescued. Subsequently, two or three of the remainder were found by the *Noord* when she touched at Natal during an exploration of the east coast. We are told that among the first party rescued was a French boy, who was the only survivor of a boat's crew which had attempted to land on the coast.

The Portuguese ship, *Nostra Senhora de los Milagros*, struck on the rocks between Agulhas and False Bay on the 16th of April 1686. The night was beautiful and perfectly clear, but the master of the ship, being confident that he had rounded the Cape, set no watch, and steered directly on shore. Three ambassadors from Siam to Portugal were on board, besides a good many passengers, and a crew of more than 200 men. So contracted were the real limits of the settlement at this time, that those who succeeded in reaching the beach could obtain no food, and were in despair. The eldest of the Siamese ambassadors died of grief and distress shortly after reaching land, and

such sufferings were endured by the survivors in the short march to Capetown that many of them died in consequence. As the Siamese did not appear, a sergeant and six soldiers were sent to look for them, and found them wandering about among the mountains—still alive, although a month had elapsed since the shipwreck. Diamonds to the amount of £100,000 was the only treasure saved out of this unfortunate ship.

Among the few events of interest which grace the early Cape annals, the capture in Table Bay of the French ships, *Normande* and *La Coche*, stands prominently forward. War had been declared by the King of France against the United Netherlands, and it was known at the Cape in March 1689 that all Dutch ships in French harbours were seized. All this was, however, unknown to the captain of the French ship *Normande*, homeward bound from Pondicherry with a valuable cargo, which put into Table Bay on the 6th of April 1689. According to custom, he sent a boat with a complimentary message, but the crew were made prisoners when they got ashore, and Dutch sailors dressed like the Frenchmen whom they had replaced, and still keeping the French flag flying, pretended to put off as if on the return journey. The deceived *Normande*, when adding to her former politeness by firing a salute, was boarded by the crews of Dutch ships in port, and after a short scuffle, in which no one was killed, the captain surrendered. The captured ship was used as a bait, and her national flag kept flying, so as to delude her

consort, *La Coche*, to follow her course and share her fate. The latter, in due course, entered the Table Bay trap on the evening of the 5th of May, and lost no time in saluting the Dutch flag with nine guns. She then sent off a boat to the *Normande*, but as this did not return, and a large Dutch ship was observed to be coming up, the captain (D'Armagnan) beat to quarters. The *Nederland* then poured in a destructive broadside which killed the brave French commander and three of his crew, besides wounding eight others. Five hostile ships were now around their victim, and therefore surrender was inevitable. £50,000 was the value of the cargoes of the two prizes, which were renamed the *Goede Hoop* and *Afrika*. They were sent to Europe with the Company's homeward-bound fleet, while the prisoners, 140 in number, were forwarded to Batavia.¹

The Chamber of Seventeen considered that the Cape had become more important, and, consequently, the officer administering the government ceased to be a commander, and became a governor. Nevertheless, the advance of the country was very slow, and thoroughly unsatisfactory. A state of torpor, broken by frequent discontent, now became its normal condition. The state of the country was due to the false principles on which the

¹ In time of peace the French were courteously treated by Simon Van der Stell—so much so, that he received a present of a gold chain and medal, as well as a portrait of Louis XIV., in return for civilities. In June 1685 an embassy to Siam put into Table Bay in a French ship. Six Jesuits were on board, including in their number two of the best astronomers of the time, to whom the pleasure house at the Company's garden was granted as an observatory.

colony had been founded. The attempted union of a mercantile factory of a monopolist nature with mongrel free colonisation was a signal failure. A mere place of refreshment might have answered the wants of the Dutch traders; and if this plan had been rigidly adhered to, there would then be neither any colony nor any hope of prosperity in South Africa; but possibly the native owner of the soil would not have been despoiled. On the other hand, had the European colonists not been fettered, but allowed the free development of their energies—free commerce and free cultivation—the process of the extermination of the black man might have been more rapid. The theory, which has been carried into practice in South Africa, as in America, that the coloured races are incapable of prosperity in close contact with the white, and that the white shall be deemed entitled to seize on all the land of the coloured races, would perhaps have received even yet more terrible and universal application, but the country would not have lost a century and a half of progress.¹

When the Van der Stells² had passed away, Van Assenburgh and William Helot followed. Then came Mauritz Pasques, Marquis de Chavonnes, a French Huguenot nobleman, who ordered that the

¹ These are the sentiments of Mr. Justice Watermeyer upon the early history of his own country, expressed in his Lectures.

² Simon Van der Stell, after whom Stellenbosch and Simon's Bay were named, resigned his appointment, and retired to his farm 'Constantia,' where he had built a handsome residence. He died in June 1712, and his remains were buried in the church of Table Valley. His son, who succeeded him in 1699, had been for ten years an official in Amsterdam.

A very interesting narrative is given of the wreck of the *Bennebroek*

statutes of India should form a code of laws for the colony. About Pieter Gysbert Noodt, who began to hold the reins of government in 1727, there is quite a halo of romance. A German tutor, who lived in the colony towards the middle of the eighteenth century, weaved a story about this unpopular Governor which is in essentials to be found in several other narratives. It is stated that, having condemned some men unjustly to death, one of their number, on the scaffold, called upon Van Noodt to appear before the judgment-seat of God, and that, when the execution was over, the obnoxious ruler was found dead in his armchair. It seems that the facts are that the Governor was ill-tempered and disliked; moreover, he was found dead in his chair; and he had previously, with the council, condemned to death—justly, according to the laws of those days—several men who had deserted with their arms and robbed the guardhouse. Everything else is untrue, which shows what calumny can do, and how necessary it frequently is to sift and examine statements which are handed down as historical facts.

A little expansion had taken place, although, up to the year 1743, there was only one seat of magistracy outside of Capetown, and that was at Stellen-
on the coast of Natal in 1713. The survivors remained for several months on the coast, and when they tried to go westward, were stopped by great rivers. They went inland afterwards, and eventually only seven survived, who found refuge with a tribe of natives constantly at war with Bushmen. Here they found a Frenchman, who had been wrecked thirty years before. Eventually one sole survivor of the *Bennebroek*—a Malabar slave—reached the Breede River, and was brought to Capetown.

One of the most dreadful gales on record was that which visited Table Bay on 17th June 1722, when every ship in the bay—ten in number—was wrecked, and 660 men perished.

bosch. Lower Breede River, soon styled the division of Swellendam (in honour of Governor Swellengrebel), followed; but even then it was declared that a greater number of people than the existing small population could not obtain a living in the country, unless free exportation of produce was permitted. The rule of Ryk Van Tulbagh for twenty years—from 1751 to 1771—was, however, favourable to progress; at least it was long considered the golden age of Cape administration, and this Governor has been constantly praised for his wisdom and benevolence.

One of the most enterprising parties which had ever proceeded inland penetrated to the eastern districts, and through them to Kafirland. The Keiskamma River was then justly considered to be the boundary between the Hottentots and Kafirs. The former people occupied a vast, fruitful, and beautiful country. One hundred and forty years have passed away, and where are they? Gone like the autumn leaves of past years, with the exception of comparatively few at the Kat River settlement. The expedition from the Cape claimed all the country for the Company, and at various places raised up "beacons" as tokens of sovereignty. A special one was erected at the mouth of the Zwartkops River, in Algoa Bay, and attention was paid to the principal bays on the east coast.

In 1755¹ there were 5,510 colonists and 6,279 slaves

¹ The shipwreck of the English ship *Doddington* took place in this year on a rock now called after her, close to the Bird Islands, off the eastern shores of Algoa Bay. On this occasion 247 persons perished, and the survivors—twenty-three in number—eventually built themselves a sloop, which they called *The Happy Deliverance*, and escaped in it to Delagoa Bay, where they found ships, which carried some of them to India and others to England. There is a romance connected

in the settlement. A quaint and peculiar state of society then existed, in which extreme conservatism prevailed. The sumptuary laws of Dutch India were put in force, and regulations which now seem to us absurd existed, such as those providing that every person, without exception, should stop his carriage and get out of it when he saw the Governor approaching; that only persons of certain rank could use large umbrellas; and that silk dresses were not to be worn, nor embroidery used, by any ladies but those of the upper class. The number of servants and horses which every individual might have was regulated, and even to the grave the Placaat followed burghers, rules being laid down about strewing dust before the house door as a sign of bereavement.

The Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Kafirs were the natural enemies of Europeans in South Africa. The first-named, inhabiting mountains and deserts, carried on war with the others, and, like the wolf on the fold, came down whenever possible on the flocks and herds of the settlers. The Kafirs were invaders of the Hottentot country, and, if tradition be accurate, defeated their enemies early last century in a great battle on the Kei River, and drove them westwards. So far as the Dutch colonists were concerned, their great plagues were the little crafty Bushmen, who drove the cattle of Pieter Laubser from his farm in the Bokkeveld in 1763 and killed numbers with poisoned arrows, visited a cattle station

with a treasure in a cave at Woody Cape, the promontory near the Doddington rock, which has been made the subject of a drama. The legend is that a Dutchman, when in this cave, saw a large number of men, dressed as sailors, issuing from the back of the cavern, diverting the channel of a small stream, digging in its bed, and bringing up a dozen iron chests of treasure.

on the Zak River in 1764, and there murdered the European servant and stole 300 sheep. On this last occasion their retreat was discovered, and twenty-three of their number killed. In May 1770 they drove a herd of cattle from a farm in the Karoo, and later in the same year many farms were plundered. These are only specimen occurrences; raiding, pursuing, and killing went on steadily. A commando under Van der Merwe killed 142 Bushmen, but this officer afterwards made peace, for which he was severely censured by the Government. The war of extermination was vigorously continued, and we find that Commandant Van Jarsveld in 1775 killed no fewer than 122 Bushmen. The manner in which he carried on operations is so significant as to command our attention. He tells us that they proceeded to the upper end of the Seacow River when they met unawares one of "those cattle plunderers," and also saw a great many of "those thieves" at a distance. "In order to create no suspicion in the mind of the thief that we had caught, we behaved peaceably to him in order to get the other thieves in our power." He was told that they came as friends, was regaled with tobacco, and told to go to his comrades and offer them peace. Seacows were killed to further entice the Bushmen. The bait attracted the victims; the Dutch fell upon them suddenly at daybreak, and slaughtered every savage with the exception of five, who managed to escape. All this is set forth in Van Jarsveld's *Journal*,¹ and is evidently looked upon as highly creditable and praiseworthy work.

¹ *Van Jarsveld's Journal* (he was Landdrost of Stellenbosch), August 4th to August 10th.

In spite of many commandos, the Bushmen were so numerous in the neighbourhood of the Sneeuwbergen (Snowy Mountains, Graaffreinet) that many farmers were forced to leave that neighbourhood. Petitions for assistance resulted in orders for the destruction of this hated race. Continual patrolling and offers of land as reward for killing Bushmen were of little avail. At last, in 1787, a very strong commando, divided into five parties, was sent out by the Landdrost and military court of Graaffreinet, with orders 'to destroy that pernicious nation,' and the Landdrost of Stellenbosch was commanded to co-operate. Again, in 1792, an expedition under Van der Walt scoured the country between Tulbagh and Zak River, with the result that 158 Bushmen were killed and 51 taken prisoners. It is recorded that between the years 1786 and 1795 no fewer than 2,480 of these people were killed, but in that very period they had stolen from the farmers 617 horses, 17,633 cattle, and 77,176 sheep. The Landdrost of Graaffreinet (Maynier) tells us in 1792 that every year large commandos of 200 or 300 Boers 'had been sent out against the Bushmen, and learned by their reports that generally many hundreds were killed by them, the greatest part helpless women and innocent children.' He goes on to say that, to prevent such atrocities, he stopped the commandos and substituted other measures, the result of which was that the depredations of the Bushmen nearly ceased. They were certainly crushed in such a manner as to give comparatively little trouble. At the close of the eighteenth century the Hottentot and Bushman enemy was fairly well disposed of, but the Kafir had risen on the horizon, and had to be dealt with.

CHAPTER IV

The Baron Van Plettenberg—Local Discontent—Naval Engagement between English and French Fleets—The Heroism of Waltemade—The Loss of the *Grosvenor*—Expansion of the Colony—Establishment of New Divisions—State of the Colony—Arrival of Commissioners of Inquiry—War between the French Republic and the Netherlands—The Prince of Orange requests the Colony to submit to Great Britain—Arrival of the British Fleet—Miserable and Discontented State of the People—Surrender of the Colony to the British Crown.

THE Prince of Orange appointed Baron Van Plettenberg Governor of the Colony, and he assumed office in May 1774. Extension of territory becomes discernible in the naming of a bay on the east coast after this functionary, while almost at the same time the eventual northern boundary of the colony was styled the 'Orange River' by Captain Gordon. The Great Fish River was now declared the eastern limit of the settlement, on the same principle as the painting of the African map with the colours of various European nationalities goes on at the present day.

No better men than the Dutch could have come to the Cape of Good Hope, so far as a restless spirit of 'trekking' is concerned. There seemed an innate desire for patriarchal life on outlying stations, where, undisturbed by taxes and restrictive laws, they might live in calm peacefulness and comfort.

Isolated farms soon sprang up in very distant places, and we shall soon see what very remarkable effects are traceable to this movement. The discontents and troubles of a petty settlement do not require much attention. The Government was styled tyrannical by the burghers, and the people were stigmatised as seditious by their rulers. As a specimen of grievances, the case of a man named Carel Hendrik Buitendag can be referred to. He was a drunkard, who behaved so brutally to his wife that she prayed for a separation, and so shamefully to his family that the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, with his Heemraden, petitioned for his forcible removal. The Government acceded to the request, but twenty days after the application had been made, and when the man was behaving himself, the domestic quarrel being forgotten, he was seized by black scavengers, dragged through the town, placed on board ship, and taken to Batavia. His wife and children had now changed their minds, and followed to the beach lamenting. The unfortunate man, when he reached India, obtained leave to return to the Cape, but died on the homeward voyage. The deportation of Buitendag became a magnificent pretext for indignation, and 400 burghers applied through three delegates to the Council of Polity for leave to elect persons to be sent to Holland to lay their grievances before the Company. This was refused, but the Council expressed its willingness to hear complaints and redress grievances. Nevertheless, the malcontents subsequently sent delegates to Europe, and their complaints were very carefully heard and thoroughly

investigated. Of course they were sent for report to the Governor, and it must be admitted that the explanations of Van Plettenberg and the high officials at the Cape show that the grievances were not nearly so great as they were represented. The Governor was disgusted with the people, and requested his recall. The only result of all the complaints was the eventual displacement of the Fiscal or Public Prosecutor, who was evidently too conservative for even the Chamber of Seventeen, and an alteration in some details of administration.

Local discontents had now to be put on one side, as on the 30th of March 1781 the French frigate *Silphide* arrived in Table Bay, bringing the news that on the 20th of December 1780 war had been declared by Great Britain against France and the United Provinces. Ships were ordered to Saldanha Bay, the burghers declared that they would fight to defend the colony, and great excitement prevailed. On the 20th of May 1781 the French frigate *Serapis* brought the news that a French fleet with a large number of soldiers might soon be expected. On the 13th of March 1781 an English fleet of forty-six sail with 3,000 troops under Commodore Johnstone had sailed from Spithead for the conquest of the Cape. A battle was fought with the French fleet under Admiral Suffren off St. Jago, when our fleet was taken at a disadvantage and suffered severely. Admiral Johnstone sailed to the Cape, but Suffren with a strong fleet was before him. The English Commodore, hitherto rather unsuccessful, was now more fortunate than he could have hoped. The

Active, of 32 guns, which he sent in advance to reconnoitre, hoisted the French flag and spoke the Dutch East Indiaman *Held Woltemade* in the French language. By this means full intelligence of the arrival and strength of Suffren's fleet was obtained. The tricolour was then hauled down and the English Jack substituted, with a request for the surrender of the betrayed merchantman, which was at once acceded to; and thus not only a valuable cargo, but treasure to the amount of £40,000 was secured. When the *Active* returned and reported that the Cape was too strong to be attacked, Commodore Johnstone wisely turned his attention to five large Dutch East Indiamen at anchor in Saldanha Bay. The English fleet, flying French colours, sailed thither, but hauled up the British ensigns when they entered. The Dutch officers should then, in accordance with instructions, have immediately destroyed their ships, but in one only had the necessary preparations been made, and it alone (the *Middelburg*) was blown up. Four fine Dutch ships were captured, and the Commodore sailed back to England, taking them with him.

The people at the Cape were always grumbling. In 1784 memorials were sent to Holland complaining of iniquitous government, and of the scanty attention paid by the home authorities to their frequent representations. Some change was necessary, but evidently the Directors thought the alteration should be as much as possible in the direction of putting the Cape in a better state of defence. Lieutenant-Colonel de Graaff, an engineer

officer, was therefore appointed Governor, and a large body of troops ordered from India. The complaints against Van Plettenberg were treated as the idle wind blowing, as this official was never censured, and went to Holland triumphantly as admiral of the homeward-bound fleet.

During the closing portion of the eighteenth century the trade of Holland seriously suffered during great naval wars, in which she no longer took a prominent and triumphant part as in the days of Van Tromp. The disasters to mercantile vessels on the South African coast were numerous, but there are only two noteworthy events of this period which must be referred to. These are the noble heroism of Woltemade, and the loss of the ill-fated *Grosvenor*.¹

The great Indiaman *Jonge Thomas* laboured terribly during a heavy nor'-westerly gale in Table Bay, and at dawn of day on the 1st June 1773 was driven ashore on the beach near the mouth of Salt River; the agonising sight of men calling in vain for help was heard by a poor dairyman, named Walraad Woltemade, and full of pity for these unfortunates he rode through the boiling surf and reached the ship's side. Two men held to the tail of his powerful steed and were safely borne to the

¹ The Cape was very well known and frequently visited. Captain Cook touched at Table Bay in 1772, and again in 1775. The French explorer Kerguelen visited Simon's Bay, *en route* for the great Polar Sea, in 1773. The number of vessels which visited Table Bay in the years 1781-4 inclusive were:—Dutch, 94; English, 38; French, 119; Danish, 62; Swedish, 22; Austrian, 48; Portuguese, 8; Italian, 2; Prussian, 13; Hamburg, 1; Russian, 3; Spanish, 1; and American, 1.

shore. The experiment was repeated over and over again, until fourteen men were saved; but, unfortunately, the compassion and bravery of Woltemade were greater than the strength of his horse. On the occasion of the eighth trial, the devoted man and his steed were conquered by the breakers and swept to destruction.¹

The English East India Company's ship *Grosvenor*, freighted with officers, civilians, tenderly-nurtured mothers and daughters, was approaching the dreaded African coast on a fine morning in August 1782. The shore was visible, but, as is so often the case, the officer of the watch was careless, when suddenly the ship struck and the breakers came on board. So near were they to the beach that several men reached it on a hawser from the vessel. The wreck broke up, but a large portion on which many passengers had crowded drifted ashore, and 136 persons were saved and only fourteen drowned. Some provisions were washed ashore, and when these were collected the whole party set out for the Cape. From the first the natives proved unfriendly, the rivers were in some instances impassable, the toils of the way and starvation were excessive, so we cannot be surprised to learn that only six sailors reached a farm close to Algoa Bay after having suffered the most acute hardships in a journey of 116 days. Who can

¹ The Dutch East India Company commemorated this act of heroism by calling one of their ships after the hero, and causing a picture of the scene of the rescue to be painted on the stern. On the occasion of the wreck of the *Jonge Thomas* 138 men were drowned and fifty-three saved.

estimate what the poor ladies and children endured?¹ No trace of any of the former has been found, and there is every reason to believe that they died of fatigue and hunger. An expedition under Mr. Jacob Van Reenen was sent to search for the survivors in 1790; but they could obtain no information, although in the neighbourhood three aged white women were found, survivors of a wreck which took place not later than the year 1740.

Before the close of this century the great division of Graaffreinet was established, extending from Swellendam to the Fish River, and from the Snowy Mountains to the sea; and it was in 1785 that an old burgher resident in Stellenbosch was appointed to preside over it, while for the site of his public offices two farms were chosen almost girdled by the Sundays River near its source, where for generations the inhabitants of one of the most important towns of the midland districts have been able to cultivate the finest grapes and fruits of the colony.²

¹ The great novelist, Charles Dickens, has, in a most affecting sketch published in *Household Words*, referred to the sufferings of the journey and to the tender kindness with which one poor boy was carried and watched over until he died. The names of the lady passengers were Mrs. Hosea, Mrs. James, Mrs. Logie, and Misses Dennis, Wilmot, and Hosea. There was a rumour that some had been married to Kafir chiefs, but of this there is not the slightest evidence.

² Graaffreinet and Cradock are two leading towns of the Karoo districts, and in their gardens prove that Karoo soil well watered is as productive as any in the world. The immense plains called Karoo are dominated by mountain ranges and supplied with subterranean water. Undoubtedly, with irrigation, these extensive and barren-looking regions could be made to produce enormous crops of the best cereals. In our expansion we have never yet had time to attend to this important subject, and consequently we pay for bread more than double the price that it costs in Europe.

At a later period a portion of this vast territory, which exceeded in size an average European kingdom, was cut off and named Uitenhage.¹ This comprised the lower section on the shores of Algoa Bay.

The Hottentots still held more real possession of this country than the distant Government, while the very few farms occupied by the indomitable pioneer Dutch were spread over an immense extent of country traversed by innumerable head of game.² These farmers led a patriarchal life. Cattle-breeding did not require much industry. Little was done to the land, and the very few articles of food and of clothing which their simple life required were obtained by waggons from centres to which they had gone laden with butter and soap. Self-reliance was inculcated by comparative isolation, broken by a fight for property, if not for life, with hated savages. To ride, to shoot, to endure privation, were all learnt in a school whose pupils developed into the voortrekkers of the nineteenth century, whose deeds we have yet to chronicle.

As far as Capetown and its neighbourhood are concerned, there was not merely comfort, but luxury. The French troops which arrived in 1781 had introduced an expensive style of living, and now large, handsome houses, with costly furniture and many slave servants, superseded the plain dwellings of former times. So far did luxury go that the Directors of the Company in Amsterdam complained about the

¹ Named after a barony of Commissary-General De Mist in Holland.

² At least forty varieties of antelopes, besides leopards, hyenas, and other carnivora, quaggas, zebras, buffalos, and hippopotami.

Cape becoming a second Paris. Military expenditure caused money to be plentiful for a short time, but this prosperity was fictitious, and therefore speedily came to an end. So far as the Government was concerned, it was far from successful in any point of view. The revenue was £28,000, and the expenditure £120,000 yearly. An incompetent Governor drew an immense salary in Capetown, and lived there in extravagance. A drunken deputy misruled Graaffreinet, and the inroads of the Kafir races were met by the very weak and foolish plan of buying off and compromise. When these fierce hordes crossed the Fish River and claimed the country lying between that colonial boundary and the Kowie, a burgher commando soon collected and was prepared to drive them back; but the instructions to patch up a peace were imperative, and so, amid the indignation of the Boers, no attempt was made to retaliate, and not only were all the stolen cattle lost, but the prestige of the white man in the country was seriously injured.

Paper money not redeemable in specie proved necessarily a disastrous expedient, and became seriously depreciated. The Dutch East India Company itself was virtually in a state of insolvency, and, having to retrench everywhere, made no exception at its Cape settlement, where military outposts had to be abandoned, slaves reduced in number, certain mechanics and sailors sent to Batavia, and horses, vehicles, etc., sold. Governor de Graaff had displeased the Home Government, and was as unpopular with his employers as he was with the

people over whom he ruled. He was recalled, and General Cornelis Nederburgh and Simon Henry Frykenius appointed as Commissioners, by the Stadholder of Holland and the Directors, to investigate into the Company's affairs, and make all necessary reforms. These two officials formed only a portion of the Commission, which was appointed for all the Eastern settlements of the Company as well as for the Cape of Good Hope.

The new Commissioners, who arrived in 1792, found included in their duties that of investigating into the continued dissatisfaction of the colonists, and it was not long before it became evident to their minds that no light task awaited them. The attitude of the burghers was revolutionary, At Simon's Bay the local Council boldly withdrew a proclamation imposing a succession duty, which the Directors had ordered to be levied. Public meetings were held, and the burgher councillors clamoured for leave to represent the people, which was at last ungraciously granted. The Commissioners were fond of fighting by proclamations, and publicly called on the people to retrench, and return to a simple style of living; and when they animadverted upon disloyalty, the people answered that they were faithful to the States General, but opposed to the corrupt administration of the Company.

Certainly an example of saving was set by the Commissioners, as they came to the conclusion that the expenditure at the Cape should be reduced by the amount of £66,000 per annum. New taxes were levied, including an obnoxious auction duty.

Properties were leased, salaries cut down, and eventually the yearly expenditure was reduced so as to only exceed the income by £27,000. Of course, the reduction of the garrison, and a general system of economy, caused considerable distress, and the prohibition of trade with foreigners was bitterly resented, and declared ruinous to the colonists. Then came the empirical remedy of a loan bank with a paper currency, which, naturally, had disastrous consequences. But the troubles of the Government were not merely those connected with finance and taxation; they had to deal with numerous tribes of thieving Hottentots and Bushmen, as well as with still more troublesome Kafirs. The last made bold inroads into the eastern country extending between the Sunday and Fish Rivers. Cattle were stolen, and in some instances farmers were murdered. Commanders, both at Graaffreinet and Swellendam, advanced to the front, and Landdrost Maynier, utterly detested by the Boers, made illusory treaties of peace with savages, and when called upon to report as to the causes of the war, blamed his co-patriots, and declared that the Kafirs were a peaceable, quiet people.

The unfortunate Commissioners were beset on every side by trouble while endeavouring to secure peace at any price, coupled with retrenchment. To add to their sorrows, news arrived in 1793 that the French Republic had declared war with Great Britain and the united Netherlands. They enrolled all the clerks, Hottentots, and half-breeds into military corps, and then left for Java, appointing (1793)

Abraham Josias Sluysken to be Commissioner-General in their stead. The unfortunate Dutch East India Company, which had long been staggering under debt and difficulties, now fell so completely as to be forced to make known that its debt amounted to £10,000,000 sterling, that its credit was exhausted, and that the interest on loans could not be paid. A few feeble efforts were made in Capetown to increase the defences, but there was neither money to construct fortifications nor men to defend them. The people of the country districts, no doubt, felt the impotence of the Government, and revolutions occurred both at Graaffreinet and Swellendam. At the former place the inhabitants displayed the tri-colour, and declared themselves 'Nationals,' showing that the contagion of the French Revolution had even spread into the South African Karoo.

In Swellendam the people behaved in a similar way. There Paul Fouche, with nine armed burghers, interrupted the proceedings of the Session of Landdrost with his Heemraden, and commanded the members not to leave the Drostdy. This South African Cromwell subsequently sent a message to the effect that his wishes would be declared on the following day, and then the officials were deposed, a new Landdrost appointed, and a representative body, dignified with the title of a 'National Assembly,' established. The people of Stellenbosch sympathised with these fine doings; and as the entire military force in the colony only comprised 1,200 men, whose chief duty was to defend Capetown, it was quite clear that nothing could be done against Republican

patriots. It was just as evident that the Cape of Good Hope would easily and speedily fall a prey to a hostile power, and therefore the Prince of Orange, with whom Great Britain was in alliance, sent a letter, dated at Kew on 7th February 1795, ordering Commissioner Sluysken to admit the ships and troops of England into the colony. This missive was brought by a fleet under the command of Sir George Keith Elphinstone—the land forces on board being under Major-General Sir James Craig. As the vessels of war comprised three ships of 74 guns, three of 64 guns, a frigate of 24 guns, and two sloops of war bearing a large military force, the request of the Prince of Orange became a demand that could scarcely be denied.

There was a meeting of the Council of Polity, signals of alarm were made summoning the burghers to Capetown, and Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was ordered to Simon's Bay with 200 infantry and 100 gunners to strengthen a garrison of only 150 men. Of course, it was evident that no letter from an exiled prince in a foreign country could bind distant officials. Holland had, moreover, welcomed the French, remodelled the National Government, and abolished the office of Stadholder. The Council of Polity at the Cape could, however, only decline to submit. General Craig distinctly declared that his orders were to take the Cape, so that it could be retained until the restoration of legitimate authority in Holland. According to him, to decline British intervention was to declare in favour of the Cap of Liberty and of the guillotine.

Numbers of mounted burghers arrived from the interior. Even the disaffected 'National Assembly' at Swellendam sent a contingent. With such a force, however, there was little chance. There was none whatever, if the character of its commanders be taken into consideration. De Lille fled from the fort at Muizenberg immediately a shot was fired from the British fleet. The artillery camp was shortly afterwards abandoned, and the guns spiked. The land force of the invaders easily swept round the mountain, and, after a temporary check, met with a resistance from the burgher forces, which might have been serious if the regular troops had been well directed. So enraged were the Boers that they charged De Lille with high treason, and sent him under arrest to the castle. He was found not guilty, but probably, as an Orange partisan, had determined not to fight against those forces which were acting in alliance with his prince. As reinforcements of about 400 men arrived in the British camp early in August, there was really not the faintest chance of defending the settlement. Nevertheless, the Burgher Council unanimously adopted a resolution that the colony should be defended to the last. However, the defending force of 1,140 men melted away; a mutiny broke out in the Pandour corps; and a fleet of twelve Indiamen, with three British regiments on board, commanded by Sir Alured Clark, arrived in Simon's Bay. An English force, about 5,000 strong, marched from Muizenberg to Capetown; an absurd attempt at defence in the Wynberg camp was made, but, in

order to save Capetown from being taken by storm, terms of capitulation were soon arranged, and on the 16th September 1795 the Dutch troops marched out of the castle and laid down their arms as prisoners of war. The terms of capitulation on which the colony surrendered were fair and reasonable. No new taxes to be levied, old ones to be reduced, private property to be held sacred, and colonists to retain all their privileges. The rule of the Dutch East India Company over the Cape now ended, after having lasted 143 years.

A narrow policy produced natural effects, and the infant settlement, constantly swathed in the tight swaddling bonds of monopoly and repression, did not expand as much in a century and a half of Company rule as it did in the following century during twenty-five years of liberty. True, in a geographical point of view, the colony had become greatly extended; but the Kafir was really master of the eastern districts, discontented and rebellious burghers held Graaffreinet and Swellendam, while so sparsely peopled was most part, even of the western districts, that the country was really only nominally occupied. Explorations during the latter part of the century were chiefly directed to Namaqualand and Damaraland, but even there nothing of a practical character was done. In fact, speaking generally, the colony was in a miserable, discontented, and unfortunate position at the end of the rule of the Dutch East India Company, whose high aims and achievements unfortunately ended in defeat, misfortune, and ruin.

CHAPTER V

The New Government under Great Britain—Discontent and Rebellion—Missionary Enterprise—Kafir War—The Cape of Good Hope reverts to the Batavian Republic under the Treaty of Amiens—New Government incomparably better than that of Dutch East India Company—Cape recaptured by Sir David Baird—The Battle of Blaauwberg—Rule of the British Government—The Earl of Caledon—Hottentot Missionary Difficulties—Another Kafir War—Murder of Landdrost Stockenroom.

ADMIRAL ELPHINSTONE with Generals Clarke and Craig carried on the Government in as conciliatory a manner as possible. Many of the former civil servants who took the oath of fidelity were retained in employment, the High Court of Justice was dissolved and a Burgher Senate of six members created, the obnoxious auction dues were repealed, and a proclamation was issued declaring that, as 'the monopoly and oppression hitherto practised for the profit of the East India Company' was at an end, there was now both free trade and a free market. No new taxes were to be levied, and oppressive ones were to be repealed. The paper currency, which then amounted to more than a quarter of a million sterling, was to hold its value, but the British were to make payments in coin. All this gave great satisfaction, and no more was heard even in Swellendam about 'National Assemblies' and 'Freedom.' It was different, however, in Graaff-

reinet, where, under Marthinus Prinsloo, the people refused to take the oath of allegiance, and sent back the Landdrost (Mr. Bresler) with several absurd proposals, the answer to which was the removal of 300 men of the 84th Regiment to Stellenbosch, and the cutting away of all supplies from the rebels. However, they soon quarrelled among themselves and submitted. But a party was still left which cherished national principles, and it sent one of its number to Batavia and induced the Dutch Governor-General very foolishly to forward gunpowder and other supplies. The vessel in which these things were sent was driven by stress of weather into Delagoa Bay, and soon afterwards captured by the British.¹ A still greater success was obtained by the new Government on the 17th of August 1796, when a Dutch fleet consisting of eight ships,² under Rear-Admiral Lucas, surrendered almost unconditionally in Saldanha Bay.

In 1796 the British Government seemed to consider that the Cape should be retained permanently, and sent out the Earl of Macartney as Governor. It is noticeable that his salary and allowances (£12,000 per annum), together with those of half a dozen other officials, amounted to £20,000 per annum, whereas the total yearly revenue was scarcely

¹ Subsequently Marthinus Prinsloo and A. Van Jarsveld were sentenced to death, Cornelius Edeman to be flogged and banished, while the others received lesser punishments.

² *Revolutic* and *Dordrecht* of 66 guns each; *Admiral Tromp*, 54; *Castor*, 44; *Brave*, 40; *Bellona*, 28; *Sirene*, 26; *Hawk*, 18; *Maria*, storeship. Most of the soldiers and seamen who were taken prisoners willingly entered the British service.

£29,000. It was as the key of a position that the Cape was valuable, and this was now understood. So far as the Government was concerned it was pure, uncorrupt, and thoroughly identified with Conservative principles. Backed up as it was by an overwhelming power, the inhabitants of the colony, who were imbued with Jacobin principles,¹ had no opportunities of asserting them. The slightest attempt at revolution would have been immediately repressed in the sternest manner. The new-comers were greatly disgusted with the constant system of falsehood which prevailed in connection with returns for purposes of taxation, while on the other hand there was a strong feeling among the people against the alleged arrogance and grasping character of their rulers. The burghers were made to take a new oath of allegiance at the point of the sword, and when Delpont, the former 'National Commandant' of Swellendam, endeavoured to escape, he was arrested and exiled.

Mr. Bresler returned to Graaffreinet as Landdrost, and Mr. Barrow,² the Governor's private secretary, accompanied him. These officers afterwards travelled eastwards through the Zuurveld, and interviewed the great chief Gaika on the banks of the Keiskamma River, with whom an agreement was made that, as a token of submission, he should periodically send

¹ These prevailed extensively. On one occasion invitations were sent out by Mr. Eksteen, of Bergvliet, addressed to each person as 'Citizen.' For this he had to apologise and give security to the extent of £1,000 that he would not again be guilty of a similar offence.

² Afterwards Sir John Barrow. See his most interesting *Travels in South Africa*.

to Graaffreinet one of his people, bearing a brass-headed staff with the British arms emblazoned on it.

Mr. Barrow describes a mutiny which took place on board the fleet in Simon's Bay, which he attributes to mere wantonness, declaring that sedition, like the sweating sickness in the reign of Edward IV., had become a national malady.

‘The general air
From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with English blood.’

But Englishmen were well able to defend themselves. On board the flagship lying off the Amsterdam battery there was an open rebellion. Lord Macartney ordered the guns of the fort to be loaded, and shot to be heated in the ovens, while he despatched a message to the mutinous crew of the *Tremendous*, informing them that, if they did not hoist the Royal Standard within half an hour, as a token of unconditional surrender, he would blow their ship out of the water. Submission was made within the given time, for no one doubted that otherwise the whole battery would have been played upon the ship until she was destroyed.

A British vessel, named the *Star*, sent out by Commodore Alexander, took possession of the West Coast as far north as Walfish Bay, while a small piece of territory was added beyond the Tarka River, in a north-easterly direction, where our boundary was rather ill-defined. The colony now imported goods to the annual value of £253,000; slaves, £45,000; and the average exports only

amounted to £15,000. Heavy military and naval expenditure provided for the difference.

Lord Macartney was old and gouty, and thus ill-disposed to bear the enervating heat of South African summers; he consequently returned to England in 1798, and Lieutenant-General Dundas ruled in his stead.

Commandant Adrian Van Jarsveld having been found guilty of fraud and forgery, was arrested at the Drostdy of Graaffreinet, and sent away in charge of three dragoons. Marthinus Prinsloo immediately called out the Boschberg burghers to rescue him, which they easily did. A rebellion thereupon broke out, and Brigadier-General Vandeleur was sent to quiet it, troops being despatched at the same time by sea to Algoa Bay in order to co-operate with him. These he afterwards joined, and he had the pleasure of also receiving fifty-three farmers from the Sneeuwbergen. The insurgents then felt compelled to lay down their arms. Ninety-three were fined, twenty became prisoners in the Capetown Castle, and a reward of £200 was offered for the capture of each of the ringleaders.

A Kafir war now broke out, in which the 81st Regiment was attacked near the Bushmans River, and a party under Lieutenant Chumney suffered severely. Commandos were called out, but, being badly directed, did nothing. Then the Kafirs, thinking the white men were afraid to attack, devastated the eastern districts, and were joined in doing so by roving bands of Hottentots. On this occasion they even crossed the Gamtoos River and ravaged

a portion of the Longkloof. Nearly the whole district of Graaffreinet was in the hands of the enemy. Twenty-nine white people lost their lives, and there was scarcely a farmhouse left standing east of the Gamtoos River. The splendid "laagering"¹ system saved the people. Large burgher commandos were called out, and General Dundas, with reinforcements of troops, proceeded to the frontier. A miserable peace was easily patched up when the Kafirs saw that they had nothing more to gain by war. But the colonists were disappointed and disheartened, as they knew that such a treaty was illusory. A stone redoubt, called Fort Frederick, was built and garrisoned at Algoa Bay, and a few dragoons and men of the Hottentot Regiment were stationed at Graaffreinet.

Missionary enterprise on an organised scale scarcely commenced in South Africa previous to the year 1799, when the London Missionary Society sent out four agents. The Dutch East India Company's directors never seemed to consider that the conversion of the heathen was one of their responsibilities, and the colonists were almost as indifferent. We read constantly in the "Records" of the appointment of "ministers" as well as "sick visitors," and these men were, strictly speaking, as much officials of the Government as preachers of Christianity. Now an effective effort was to be made to do that which had hitherto been neglected, and to the performance of this immense work much money and

¹ Forming a fortification by interlacing the waggons used on the march.

great zeal, but sometimes comparatively little discretion, were applied. The biography of the first and greatest of these London missionaries is full of romance. Dr. Van der Kemp began life by serving as a gallant officer in the Dutch army, and afterwards became a physician of such eminence as to hold a high position in the profession. Luxury, good society, friends, and all the refinements of civilisation, were renounced that he might teach Christianity to the heathen. His eccentricities, unfortunately, militated against his usefulness. He thought it right to conform to all savage customs which were not, in his opinion, sinful, and lived with a slave girl as his wife, very much in the style of the Hottentots around him. Bethelsdorp, near Port Elizabeth, was founded by him, but never became a success. Other centres were from time to time formed, where the natives lived with a church as their centre and a pastor as director of the community. By degrees an antagonistic feeling grew up between many of the colonists and the missionaries. The latter championed the coloured races. According to their views, wars were forced on, native rights disregarded, and much injustice done. From time to time grievances were brought to the notice of the British Government, and there was always a large party at home, organised later on into the Aboriginal Protection Society, which did much harm by practically listening to only one side of the case. Of course, faults were committed on both sides. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Government and colonists were not frequently to blame, but the

extremely one-sided action and opinions of men entirely wedded to a partisan view frequently impeded the march of civilisation by raising up bitter enmities. It is not possible, even if it were desirable, to enter into the bitter controversies of the first half of the nineteenth century ; the numerous books, pamphlets, blue-books, despatches, and correspondence on the subject form an extensive literature.

Sir George Young, who arrived at the end of 1799 as Governor, was by no means a favourable specimen of a British official. He was so corrupt and inefficient that his removal became necessary, and General Dundas resumed the reins of Government until the transfer of the settlement to Holland. In the meantime Graaffreinet was again a centre of disaffection, and an armed force was sent there to keep order. Troops of Hottentots and of Kafirs infested the country, and robbed in such a manner as to force the farmers to combine against them. A great commando had at last to deal with these banditti in the country between Algoa Bay and the Bushmans River, when no fewer than 230 savages were killed, and 13,100 head of horned cattle recovered ; but, unfortunately, this success was attended with the loss of one of the bravest of the Dutch pioneers, Commandant Van der Walt, who was shot dead during an engagement with the enemy near the Baviaan's Kloof River.

By the Treaty of Amiens between France and England in 1802 it was stipulated that the possession of the Cape of Good Hope should revert to the Batavian Republic. The States-General of Holland

resolved that the colony should be governed by a Governor and a Council of four members, and that the High Court of Justice should exist as an independent institution. Trade was to be unrestricted, customs dues fixed at three per cent., no control exercised from Java, and British ships permitted to obtain supplies on the same terms as those accorded to vessels from Holland. A man of ability and excellent character was appointed Governor in the person of Lieutenant-General Janssens, and a garrison upwards of three thousand strong was sent out. In 1803 the Dutch flag again waved over the Castle of Capetown, and an opportunity was given, and taken, of showing that Dutchmen were able to govern a colony on comparatively enlarged and enlightened principles without restrictive monopoly, and without those grasping but short-sighted methods which had done so much to damage the reputation of the Netherlands East India Company, and to retard the progress of the settlement.

The first thing that the ancient owners did was to thank God publicly for the restoration of the settlement. With great industry, General Janssens visited the most distant parts of the colony, interviewed Gaika on the banks of the Fish River, and subsequently visited St. Helena Bay and the Tulbagh district. The Vale of Grace (Genadendal) was established as a great Moravian mission station for Hottentots in the western districts (present Caledon division). A new military district was wisely formed in Graaffreinet, so that concerted action could be arranged against the natives. The

great division of Uitenhage was declared to extend from the Kromm to the Fish River, while Tulbagh, named in honour of the beloved Governor of that name, embraced an enormous tract of country between Swellendam and the western shores of the colony washed by the South Atlantic Ocean.

As it was seen that introducing negro slaves had been a mistake, an enlightened system of European immigration was approved of. Commissary-General De Mist, who visited the colony as an Inspector-General with full governing powers, went even further than the local authorities in projects of progress. A commission was appointed to encourage stock breeding, agriculture, and wool farming. All religious societies were to receive equal protection from the laws, and the establishment of schools was provided for. The pernicious system of paper currency not redeemable in coin was extended, and it must be confessed that little could be done financially, as it was difficult to obtain supplies from the almost exhausted exchequer of the Batavian Republic.

Holland under republican rule was really at this time identified with France, so that when war was declared between that country and Britain, every possible effort was made to defend the Cape. At this time there were in the settlement 25,700 people who owned more than 29,000 slaves, besides having in their service, under contract, upwards of 20,000 Hottentots. Capetown alone possessed a population of 6,200 Europeans. The regular troops of all arms comprised barely 1,600 men, and although every

effort was made to get the inhabitants to co-operate, little was gained by constant enrolments and drilling throughout the Cape Peninsula. The blow fell at last. On the 4th of January 1806 flags from the signal station informed the authorities that a British fleet was approaching, and on the same evening no fewer than sixty-three ships of the enemy anchored between Robben Island and the Blaauwberg Strand. A gale blew during the night and made landing impossible, consequently the fleet was ordered to Saldanha Bay. Some of the ships had sailed when it was seen that the sea had gone down so much that landing was practicable. This was consequently effected under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. Every boat safely reached the shore, with the exception of one containing thirty-five men of the 93rd Regiment, all of whom were drowned.

The British army was 4,000 strong, and comprised the 24th, 59th, and 83rd Regiments, the Highland Brigade, a battery of artillery, as also 600 sailors, armed with pikes, and accompanied by two howitzers and six field guns. On the other hand, General Janssens had only been able to collect a motley force 2,000 strong, consisting of German mercenary troops (Waldeckers), burghers, crews of two French ships, Javanese artillery, Hottentot foot soldiers, and more than 100 Mozambique slaves. As this force was advancing on the morning of the 8th of January they saw the British army crossing the lower part of the Blaauwberg *en route* for Capetown. The Dutch General immediately extended his

troops in line, and seemed determined to fight, although he must have known well that success was impossible. His words of encouragement were answered with cheers by all the men except those in the Waldeck battalion, who were old enough soldiers to know perfectly well that their cause was hopeless. Almost immediately after the artillery opened fire these troops began to retreat, others followed, and when the Highland Brigade advanced to charge with the bayonet, the retreat became a headlong flight as far as the main body was concerned. The French and auxiliaries behaved well, but General Janssens was forced to order them to retire. Dispirited and deserted, he saw the cause of the Batavian Republic lost in South Africa; but even at such a moment he could not but recognise the steady bravery of a small body of mounted artillery who continued to fire under the command of Lieutenant Pellegrini, an officer who was immediately promoted on the field to the rank of captain. The General was reluctantly obliged to command them to discontinue a hopeless contest. The recreant Waldeckers, with the exception of one company which had stood its ground, were ordered to proceed to Capetown, and Janssens then retired with a remnant of his force to the mountains of Hottentot Holland.

General Baird continued his triumphant march, required possession within six hours of the Capetown military lines and Fort Knokke, and when application was made for a suspension of arms,¹ he

¹ The application was for an armistice of forty-eight hours, but the stern reply was that, if within thirty-six hours the town was not

would only grant it for thirty-six hours. On the 10th of January 1806 articles of capitulation were signed, and on the 11th proclamations were issued by the conqueror ordering the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, and appointing Willem Stephanus Van Ryneveld chief civil magistrate and councillor. The terms of agreement could not be considered either arbitrary or harsh. Private property was to be respected, the burghers to retain all their privileges, no soldiers to be quartered upon the inhabitants of Capetown, and the prisoners of war to be allowed to proceed to Europe. Troops were at once pushed on to Stellenbosch, and orders issued for a regiment to proceed to Mossel Bay, so that the Attaqua Pass could be secured. As there was no chance of holding the settlement, it was formally surrendered by General Janssens on the 18th of January 1806.

On the 21st of May 1806 Du Prè Alexander, Earl of Caledon, arrived in the colony as Governor, and a pure despotism was inaugurated. The administrator personally controlled and directed every department; he was also a judge of appeal in criminal cases, could fix the prices to be paid for

surrendered, the garrison would be put to the sword. The character of Sir David Baird was stern, and an anecdote is current respecting his own mother's appreciation of it. When he was at one time taken prisoner in Egypt, and she was acquainted with the fact, her remark was, 'The Lord pity the man that's chained to our Dawvid.' During Sir David Baird's government of the Cape a man named Cornelis Maas spread a report that a French fleet had anchored in Saldanha Bay. The offender was immediately flogged round the town at a cart's tail by the public executioner, and after this no false reports were circulated.

military supplies, and could make what laws he pleased, completely unrestrained, even by the advice of a council. A firm rule, backed by an overwhelming force, secured complete tranquillity, broken only by a young Irish labourer, and a Creole, who at the head of a band of marauders succeeded in plundering thirty-four farms, but were easily defeated and captured by a small military force. Fifty-one prisoners were taken and severely punished, three of their ringleaders only being put to death.

The Cape was now made a receptacle for negroes rescued by British men-of-war, and this proceeding, together with the previous practice of bringing Malay slaves from Java, laid the foundation of a class of the population which has increased so much that in Capetown alone at the present day there are more than 12,000 of their descendants.

There was but small expansion in the period of British rule which preceded the year 1820. The divisions of George and Caledon were formed in 1811 and 1813 respectively, Albany and Clanwilliam in 1814, and Beaufort about the same time, but little advance of any description is noticeable. Capetown, and indeed the whole colony, was mainly supported by lavish expenditure, civil, military, and naval. So far as finance was concerned, the Cape of Good Hope was a heavy burden to any European power—a burden which the struggling Batavian Republic would not have been able to sustain. In the country districts near the capital farmers obtained a revenue by sending in supplies to a good market, while in the remote districts a yearly visit was the

most that could be made, and the population grew up unused to the luxuries of civilisation, but good hunters, excellent shots, and inured to all the hardships of a pioneer settler's life. Circuit Courts were established, an ocean packet mail service commenced, special efforts were made by the establishment of a farm at Boschberg and otherwise to promote farming industries ; and, when a census was taken in the year 1819, the population comprised about 60,000 people, 32,000 of whom were Europeans.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Cradock was Governor from 1811 until 1813, and in the latter year Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset was appointed to the office. It was not until the 13th of August 1814 that the Cape Colony was formally ceded to Great Britain, along with Dutch Guiana, in consideration of a payment of £5,000,000 sterling. The settlement then was owned not merely by right of conquest, but by virtue of a commercial bargain, made with the legitimate Government of the Netherlands.

The Hottentots still remained seriously troublesome. General Janssens had recognised their division under chiefs. This was promptly repudiated by the British Government, and it was soon found that these people, desiring change and utterly unreliable, were as troublesome as they were untrustworthy. Small-pox and brandy had reduced their number, but early this century great missionary efforts were made among them, reserves or locations were established for their use, and under the administration of justice, by means of Circuit Courts,

many cases were brought by coloured people against colonists. Very serious charges were made by Mr. Read of Bethelsdorp to his employers, the London Missionary Society, in 1811. According to his letter the white people treated Hottentots with inhuman cruelty, and governors as well as landdrosts were deaf to cries for humanity and justice. He asserted that in the district in which he lived (Uitenhage) more than 100 murders had been committed. The Secretary of State ordered a thorough investigation, and Hottentots were given facilities for bringing forward their grievances. The judges who prosecuted the inquiry went forth on what was styled the Black Circuit, which resulted in irritating the colonists, and in proving that the charges against them were so exaggerated as to be virtually false. The most serious cases were decided in favour of the so-called oppressor, and about half a dozen colonists only were found guilty of crimes. The truth is that on this, as on many subsequent occasions, the missionaries were duped. In later days the aborigines suffered in a similar manner, and the fashion of abusing colonists in England on *ex parte* statements has lasted continuously to the present day.

The Kafirs were more dangerous enemies than the Hottentots. The latter have now succumbed to brandy drinking and other vices; the former are more numerous than ever. So far from dying out they have multiplied in such a manner as to make the question, as to whether South Africa is to be eventually a white man's or a black man's country,

one of those problems whose consideration we must attempt when dealing with a later period of history. Early in the century they were flushed with the memory of successful raids, and imbued with the desire not merely of plundering colonists, but of driving them out of South Africa. In 1811 the Longkloof and the western districts were seriously threatened by this savage race, marauding was constant, life was unsafe, and property insecure. The burghers of George, Swellendam, Uitenhage and Graaffreinet were called out and took the field with the Cape Regiment under the command of Colonel Graham. In spite of the large force marching against them, one of their chiefs, advancing to a party under Major Cuyler, declared, '*I will eat honey, and to procure it will cross the rivers Sunday, Coega, and Zwartkops. The country is mine. I won it in war, and shall maintain it.*' Here he admits that the Cape Colony was owned by Hottentots, if savages can be said to own a country which they do not utilise. It thus appears that the men who ruthlessly drove them to the westward were the people whom we in turn conquered. The fierce denunciation of colonists for stripping Kafirs of their rights, and taking their country from them, is one of those injustices which long animated European policy, and considerably tended to alienate people whom it would have been wise to conciliate. On the occasion of the war to which we are now referring, upwards of 2,000 white men took the field, 1,200 of whom were soldiers, and these included a large Hottentot contingent. Pro-

ceedings opened by mistaken generosity on the one side, and savage treachery on the other. Landdrost Stockenstrom, acting in direct opposition to orders, but animated by a philanthropic motive, advanced with twenty-four men to parley with the enemy, and, if possible, persuade the fierce Kafirs to lay down their arms. A friendly parley went on for about half an hour, but then there was a rush from all sides, and the Landdrost, his interpreter, and eight farmers were immediately stabbed to death. Prompt retribution visited the murderers, as the Landdrost's son, Ensign Stockenstrom, pursued them with a small force, and killed sixteen of their number. Various successful engagements followed, and in a few months the Kafirs were driven across the Fish River, the war finished, and a line of military posts established to defend the frontier.

CHAPTER VI

Sir John Cradock—Kafir War—Battle of Grahamstown—The Rebellion and Trial of Bezuidenhout—Grievances of Dutch Colonists—The Settlers of 1820—The Poet Pringle and Liberty of the Press—Inflated Currency and Government Expenditure—Colonel Smith—Another Kafir War—Death of Hintza—Slave Emancipation—Sir George Napier—The War of the Axe—The Emigrant Boers—Christmas Day, 1850—Another Kafir War—Sir George Cathcart—Expansion of the Colony—Representative Institutions.

GENERAL SIR JOHN CRADOCK was obliged to investigate thoroughly allegations made in England respecting the cruel conduct of frontier farmers to aboriginal natives, and His Excellency, at the conclusion of his labours, emphatically declares that he 'approves of the good and unoffending conduct of the inhabitants of the frontier towards the Kafir tribes, the faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace and prosperity of this colony.' This procedure has been continued at intervals ever since. There have always been three parties—the natives, their philanthropic friends in Europe, and the colonists. The last are generally condemned on *prima facie* evidence, and the savages are credited with qualities which they do not possess. Of course, the colonists have sometimes been blameworthy; but the terrible mistake has been generally made of condemning them unheard, and on insufficient evidence. Wars with the natives in South Africa were recurrent, and persistent Kafir robberies always provoked them.

Again the curtain rose on a tragedy, when colonial troops were sent in 1818 to the assistance of the paramount chief Gaika, who had been conquered by men of his own household. Colonel Brereton crossed the Fish River, and, having Gaika's people as auxiliaries, signally defeated the enemy. Makana¹ was the moving spirit against the British, and it was he who denounced the wrath of the spirits upon those who should hold aloof from the contest. He organised an attack upon the newly-established military station at Grahamstown, which gave an opportunity for a heroic and successful defence to a garrison of 223 men, whose exertions did in that day for the Cape Colony what in our own times was performed at Rorke's Drift for Natal. From the hills commanding the devoted fort, streams of barbarians, ferocious and strong, descended like a torrent on the small band of soldiers drawn up to receive them ; but when they were only a few paces distant, a

¹ 'Makana's Gathering,' or War Song, by Pringle, commences :—

Wake ! Amakosa, wake !
And arm yourselves for war,
As coming winds the forests shake,
I hear a sound from far.
It is not thunder in the sky,
Nor lion's roar upon the hill,
But the voice of Him who sits on high,
And bids me speak His will.
He bids me call you forth,
Bold sons of Rarabe,
To sweep the white man from the earth,
And drive them to the sea ;
The sea which heaved them up at first,
For Amakosa's curse and bane,
Howls for the progeny she nursed,
To swallow them again.

terrific hail of musketry which flesh and blood were unable to withstand poured into them. Another army of Kafirs was led against the barracks by Makana in person, who gave orders for the use of shortened assegais in a hand-to-hand combat. But a deadly fire from the protected positions of the barrack square also turned this stream back to its source. The other column rallied and renewed the attack only to be again discomfited. Grahamstown and the eastern districts of the colony were saved. The invasion of Kafirland subsequently took place, and our army took possession of the natural native bush fortresses of the Fish River, captured 30,000 cattle, and broke the power of Ndlambe, the enemy of Gaika and of his British allies. The Keiskamma River was now made the eastern boundary of the colony.

The people of Dutch extraction specially resented the representations made by missionaries and others against them and their fellow-colonists. Increased taxation further aggravated discontent, and neither was the Government nor the administration of the law loved or respected. As fully illustrative of a spirit which greatly tended to the exodus which so materially helped forward the expansion of Southern Africa, the celebrated case of Bezuidenhout is most instructive. This man illegally refused to appear before a deputy landdrost when charged with ill-treating a coloured servant. The case was then taken to the Circuit Court at Graaffreinet, and the judges ordered his arrest; Hottentot soldiers were employed to perform this duty under a European officer, and Bezuidenhout took refuge in a cave and fired upon

them. There he was shot, and when his relatives and friends came to the funeral they declared beside the open grave that they would be revenged. An effort even was made to obtain assistance from the Kafir chief Gaika, and all the Dutch farmers were called upon to rally round the standard of revolution raised at Slagters Nek. A few obeyed the call, but these had soon to lay down their arms to a party of dragoons and burghers. On the 9th of March 1816 six of the ringleaders were executed, and the feeling of enmity and dissatisfaction found expression in subsequent years, when Boers, dissatisfied with the British Government, called upon each other to remember 'Slagters Nek.' Nothing can be more unjust than to blame the British Government for the execution of men caught red-handed in rebellion, especially as this death punishment was really necessary to effect the pacification of the colony.

The great distress which prevailed in England after the Battle of Waterloo turned the attention of Government to the necessity of encouraging emigration, and in 1819 the British House of Commons voted £50,000 to send families to South Africa. Ninety thousand applications were received, and out of these about 5,000 emigrants were chosen. They landed in Algoa Bay in 1820, formed the settlement of Albany, and became the nucleus of a European population in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, which has repaid the mother country a hundredfold by developing the resources of a country, whose chief trade, computed now by many

millions of pounds sterling per annum, is carried on with Britain. The bread cast upon the waters returned also in other ways, as the men and women sent out in 1820 were indomitable settlers whom no disasters terrified nor disappointments disheartened. Droughts, locusts, floods, rust in wheat, are to be enumerated among the enemies to their progress ; but, above all, they and their children suffered from Kafir wars, which utterly devastated the country and ruined the farmers. Nevertheless, they persevered, and the eastern districts of the Cape Colony became as peaceful and secure as any part of Europe. Sheep farming and ostrich farming are successfully prosecuted, while among the foremost men at the great mineral centres of South Africa, now attracting the notice of the world, we can specially call attention to descendants of the British settlers of 1820.

Certainly there has been an enormous expansion of liberty in South Africa since the days of Lord Charles Somerset. When Mr. Thomas Pringle, the poet, asked permission in 1823 to publish a monthly magazine, the Governor thought it his duty to forward the prospectus to the Home Government, and was informed in reply that in the proposed publication no topics of personal or political controversy could be referred to. In the prospectus of *The South African Commercial Advertiser* there was an abject servility which at once met with the approval of the authorities. This journal 'would ever most rigidly exclude all personal controversy, however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or administration of the Colonial Govern-

ment.' Lord Charles Somerset approved, but a little later Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn became joint editors of this newspaper. Their free expression of opinion soon gave such offence that the printing-press was seized and the issue of their journal prohibited. Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State, was appealed to, and some concessions were made, but the autocratic Governor could not dominate the independent spirit of the great South African poet. Pringle resigned his office as librarian, and declined to conduct a paper under the fetters and restrictions which it was desired to impose upon him. Lord Charles Somerset was subsequently ordered to England, that he might explain a host of charges made against him—most of which were exaggerated or false—and never after this time was the liberty of the Press infringed within South Africa.

In 1825 the bubble of an inflated currency, not redeemable in gold, had to be dissipated, and to effect this object each rixdollar was made equivalent in value to one shilling and sixpence. Coin to the amount of £56,000 was sent from England, and there was an end of the Government issue of notes. The milch cow of the colonists was the Government expenditure in Capetown and Simon's Town. Subsequently this was supplemented by officers of the Indian service making the Cape Colony a health sanatorium in which they spent the leisure obtained by leave of absence. Farming progress was slow, and it was a long period before, in the eastern districts, woolled sheep received attention. Later on the value of the magnificent sheep walks of

the Karoo was fully recognised, while much nearer our own period the silver fleece of the angora goat, as well as ostrich feathers, were added to the exports of the colony. In early days there was great poverty and a terrible struggle. To detail these, as well as to speak of the manner in which they were surmounted, would certainly lead us to admire those qualities of patience, bravery, and perseverance, without which it is impossible to build up a nation. In the west, improvements were confined chiefly to Capetown, where a library and various useful institutions were founded, and mercantile, with municipal progress, kept pace with Government expenditure. The establishment of a Supreme Court under royal charter, the abolition of the Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, with the substitution of Civil Commissioners, the formation of several new divisions, and an improved system of government under such men as Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, who founded Port Elizabeth, Sir G. Lowry Cole, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, helped forward the slow progress of the Cape Colony.

Commissioners had been sent from England to South Africa as well as to all the principal British settlements, and these men spent years in collecting materials for extensive reports, but the Home Secretary and the members of the House of Commons seemed persistently to avoid a competent acquaintance with the wants and requirements of the country. Up to a very recent period, the study of the geography and history of ancient Greece seemed to be considered more useful and desirable than a know-

ledge of the course of events and of the statistics of those dependencies on which the commerce, and therefore the prosperity, of the Empire principally depends. Port Elizabeth became by degrees the prosperous port, in consequence of the expansion of agricultural and pastoral industries, following upon the advent of British settlers in 1820, of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. Dairy industries so flourished that 'Algoa Bay' butter became an article of export, and this was followed by success both in cattle and sheep breeding. Kafir wars, however, broke out periodically, and the history of the new portion of the settlement is, for more than fifty years, a narrative of a struggle with fierce barbarians.

The first great war broke out in 1834, when the Hottentots of the Kat River Missions allied themselves with the Kafirs. From the beautiful valleys of Bathurst the cattle of the poor struggling settlers were carried off on Christmas Day. Homesteads, herds, flocks, the accumulations of the hard labour and industry of many years, had to be abandoned, and shelter sought in Grahamstown. In one or two places the farmers boldly and successfully stood their ground, but the surprise being complete preparation was wanting, and the country was consequently laid waste from the Winterbergen to the sea. Hundreds of fugitives, leaving everything they possessed in the world, hurried to places of comparative safety. Bravery and resolution were, however, sometimes successful, as when thirty men, impetuously attacked near the Kat River by 150 Kafirs, fired with such steadiness and effect as to rout the

enemy. Hermanus Kraal, eighteen miles from Grahamstown, defended by a small detachment of the 75th Regiment, was attacked in vain, and on the evening of that day the future hero of Aliwal—Colonel Smith—concluded an historic ride of six days from Capetown to the frontier. Martial law was proclaimed, volunteers called out, and the enemy attacked in their own strongholds. The arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and of the 72nd Regiment filled the colonists with hope, although this Governor was so impressed with the lamentable state of affairs then existing, that he declared that the land was filled with the lamentations of the widows and the fatherless, and that the indelible impressions made upon his mind by this irruption of savages were such as to make him regard as trifles all he had previously seen in a military career of thirty years.

Colonel Smith directed the forces with energy and ability. The great bushy fastnesses of the Fish River were cleared, and a forward successful progress was made across the Keiskamma, followed by a general movement upon the Amatolas, under the direction of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had assumed the chief command. The Fingoes now joined the British forces, and Hintza, the paramount Kafir chief, was so seriously pressed as to sue for peace. He was taken as a hostage and informed that he would be shot if he made any attempt to get away. Nevertheless, this wily chieftain, thinking he had a chance of joining his people, suddenly, when under escort, put spurs to his horse and endeavoured to escape. An exciting scene then occurred. Colonel

Smith pursued him at full gallop, and after having snapped his pistols and hurled them at Hintza's head, by means of tremendous exertion he got alongside the fugitive, and flung himself furiously upon him. Both fell to the ground, but Hintza managed to extricate himself and hurled an assegai at his adversary. Several men of the Corps of Guides now came upon the scene, but Hintza, deaf to their calls, although wounded, rushed down hill in order to gain the shelter of a neighbouring thicket. Southey, one of the guides, during the pursuit saw an assegai strike a rock upon which he was climbing, and turning suddenly round, beheld Hintza close at hand in the act of throwing an assegai at him. In an instant his gun was fired, and a moment after the great paramount chief of Kafirland ceased to live. The British troops then pushed forward to the Umtata River. The Fingo nation, about 17,000 in number, and with 22,000 cattle, entered the colony under British protection; the province of Queen Adelaide, between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers, was added to the colony; King William's Town, on the Buffalo, was established, and peace was proclaimed to exist between Kreli, the son of Hintza, and the British nation.

Her Majesty's Government viewed the proceedings of the war with disapprobation. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, did not hesitate to state in an official despatch that the conduct of the colonists and of the local authorities fully justified the Kafirs in going to war, and consequently ordered the claim of sovereignty to be abandoned. Captain

Stockenstrom was shortly afterwards appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern districts, and specially charged with carrying out this decree, which was naturally most distasteful to the loyal English settlers, and tended still further to alienate the people of Dutch extraction. Utterly foolish and unjust though it was, and probably the cause of subsequent Kafir wars, it had, nevertheless, a wonderful effect upon the expansion of Southern Africa. For when Pieter Retief had remonstrated with indignation and without effect, 6,000 people of his own nationality followed him into the interior, determined at all risks to find a home where they could live without fear of taxes, maintain their own government, and be free from the interference of distant rulers. There were other reasons. Slaves had been emancipated by Great Britain, and according to their view inadequate compensation, much reduced by passing through the hands of agents, had been doled out to the owners; vagrancy was practically unrestrained; unjustifiable odium had been cast upon the inhabitants by missionary reports readily believed in England; so when the culminating and surprising stroke fell from the hands of Lord Glenelg, the cup of wrath and indignation was full to the brim, and the unknown wilds became far preferable to the Cape Colony. The Voortrekkers went forth, and the deeds to which we shall soon refer have been the powerful means of opening up to civilisation most of that vast territory which will yet form one of the greatest confederation of states in the southern hemisphere.

As was inevitable from the policy pursued, the frontier, in 1840, again became unquiet, and Governor Sir George Napier was forced to proceed thither and hold a grand 'palaver' with the Kafir chiefs. However, it was not until the beginning of 1846 that Sandilli joined a war party, and soon found a pretext for hostilities in the apprehension of a Kafir for stealing a hatchet. This gave rise to the 'war of the axe.' When this prisoner was on his way to Grahamstown, he was rescued by the wrist of the Hottentot to whom he was manacled being severed to set him free. For two years an expensive, irritating and disastrous war raged. An insufficient force was, in the first instance, sent against the enemy. At Burnshill mission station there was a disaster; Fort Victoria was abandoned, and 4,000 cattle were taken from us at Peddie. The burghers of Colesberg, Cradock, and Graaffreinet had to take the field to stem a tide of invasion, which was not effectually turned until, at the Battle of Gwanga, near the Keiskamma River, the 7th Dragoon Guards, with the Cape Corps and other troops, succeeded in surprising 600 Kafir warriors, who at first showed a bold front, but were soon broken and trampled down. The Fingo levies finished what the cavalry had commenced, and ferociously searching for their hereditary enemies among the long grass, despatched them without hesitation or mercy. A large force was afterwards sent to the Amatolas, and it subsequently crossed the Kei. Nevertheless, the Kafirs continued the contest, and it was found necessary to send out Sir Harry Smith, who had added Indian laurels to

those previously won by him in South Africa. The Keiskamma was now the assured colonial boundary, and British Kaffraria formed. No further operations became necessary, as a great meeting was held in King William's Town, when Sandilli, with the other chiefs, agreed to the proposals of Government, and what was called peace resulted. The new Governor then declared the northern border of the country to be the Orange River, and a new division between it and the Stormbergen was constituted, under the name of Albert.

There was, however, no real peace in South Africa. The Kafirs had only consented to a truce in which they could recruit their strength for renewed depredations, and those inhabitants of Dutch extraction who had endeavoured to find a new home in the interior, were surprised and indignant when British rule, which they had done so much to escape, was proclaimed in the new territory, which they considered to be their own. Under Pretorius, the emigrant Boers declared their complete independence, but the country known as the Sovereignty was relentlessly retained, the Boers' claim to liberty styled a revolt, and £1,000 reward offered for the capture of their leader. Sir Harry Smith crossed the Orange River, and not far from that stream, in the present Orange River Colony, on the 19th of July 1848, was fought the battle of Boomplaats, where the Boers were defeated, and compelled to trek sorrowfully beyond the Vaal River, and there to found the South African Republic. Expansion in this way was forced on, while in the colony on the

eastern frontier, the settlers had soon again to fight for the retention of their farms and the safety and lives of themselves and of their families.

The terrible Christmas Day of 1850 will never be forgotten. On that day of peace on earth and goodwill to man, the Kafirs relentlessly rushed upon defenceless villages, and slaughtered the inhabitants. In one place the settlers were assembled in the street listening to news brought by three Cape Corps men, when a whistle was given as a signal, and the Kafirs, rushing in, killed ten or fifteen unarmed men. The others fled to a dismantled clay building, where they took refuge with the defenceless women and children. Twenty-eight men were butchered there, in the presence of females, distracted with the frightful spectacle. One woman who escaped said that it was customary for the Kafirs to visit at Christmas, and as usual they came, and as usual received a good dinner. They enjoyed themselves, partook freely of the good things provided, and then on a given signal murdered their hospitable entertainers. The Governor (Sir H. Smith) was shut up in Fort Cox and nearly captured. The Hottentots joined the Kafirs, a panic took place throughout the frontier districts, several forts were attacked, of which one was captured, and the war became the most serious that had yet been waged in South Africa. The burghers were called out, special contingents enrolled, and although our Hottentot *protégés* betrayed us, the Fingoes we had saved from captivity remained our staunch friends. The Kafirs absolutely overran all the Somerset, Lower Albany,

and Alexandria districts, and we had then to fight against a desperate foe in the dangerous woody defiles of the Amatola Mountains. The gallant Colonel Fordyce was killed in clearing the Waterkloof. Extensive operations against Kreli eventually resulted in his defeat and the capture of 20,000 head of cattle.

Among the disasters of the time must be commemorated the ever memorable incident, when more than 400 men, including soldiers of the 74th Highlanders and a large number of British sailors, drew up in line on the deck of the *Birkenhead*, and, allowing the women and children to be saved in the boats, went down with the ship. Danger Point in the Southern Atlantic is a natural rocky monument, which marks for ever the place where these heroes died.

The Kafir war was so protracted and expensive, that an experienced and able officer, who afterwards died for his country in the Crimea, was sent out as Governor and Commander-in-chief. Sir George Cathcart acted with vigour, and crossing the Kei, swept Kreli's country with columns of troops, burghers and levies. A force of 2,000 men was sent across the Orange River to punish Moshesh, one of the allied chieftains, but, unfortunately, at the Battle of Berea it is impossible to say that we obtained a victory. However, this wily leader only used the occasion to make a favourable treaty of peace.

The ferocity and daring of the Kafirs was changed to mere passive resistance, and peace was declared early in the year 1853. Sir George Cathcart was wise enough to see that the real bulwark of defence

against the savages was an adequate number of reliable white men. Consequently, the Queenstown division was formed, and its lands parcelled out to stalwart champions of order on the condition of military service. The settlers had by this time increased and multiplied. As among the ancient Persians, so among the inhabitants of the frontier, to ride and shoot were essential qualifications, and it was soon discovered by the natives that the white inhabitants alone were sufficient to protect the country.

By degrees, during the first half of the century, considerable improvements were effected. Courts of Justice were established, the colony was divided into two parts, and a lieutenant-governor given to the eastern districts; missionary institutions were formed, in which, at such places as Kat River and Genadendal, the Hottentots received special attention; slavery was abolished, and moderate compensation given to the slave-owners; good roads were made and passes formed through those chains of mountains which divide the coast from the interior. The mass of the inhabitants, however, never felt contented. The grievances of the people of Dutch extraction, from whom the Voortrekkers had sprung, was the principal cause of the expansion of the entire country. They took their grievances with them into the wilds of Southern Africa. Those who remained in the colony, prompted by the English settlers, soon began to agitate for more liberty than that accorded by autocratic military governors and the ill-informed Home Government. A spirit of independence showed itself in the exer-

tions which terminated in securing a Press free from the trammels of official dictation; and when, in 1848, an Order in Council was issued by the Queen empowering the Secretary of State to send convicts to the Cape of Good Hope, great indignation was expressed by all classes. Crowded public meetings condemned this policy as destructive to colonial interests, and the people leagued together neither to employ nor to shelter felons, and to hold no intercourse with those who did. Boycotting was applied effectually long before the word was invented; and when the transport *Neptune* arrived with the convicts in September 1849, the new-comers and every civil and military officer of the Crown were threatened with starvation. Under the circumstances, the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, thought it wise not to use force, and no great interval elapsed before a note came from the British minister, stating that the plan of making the Cape a penal settlement had been abandoned.

A nominee Council long assisted the Governor, but at last the frequently expressed wishes of colonists were heard, and on the 21st of April 1853 despatches were received conveying orders of the Privy Council approving of the 'Ordinances passed in the Colony constituting a Parliament for the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly' elected under a very wide and liberal system of franchise. Representative government was then inaugurated in the Cape Colony, to be supplemented in 1872 by responsible government.

CHAPTER VII

Brief Sketch of Natal History—The Voortrekkers—The Zulus—The Orange River—The Sovereignty.

IN the first decade of Barros,¹ we read that in 1497 the small fleet of Vasco da Gama continued tormented by strong currents until, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, they passed by the coast of Natal, to which they gave that name. Until the nineteenth century this fertile and beautiful portion of South Africa has no history. During the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch East India Company occasional visits were paid to it, and a few unfortunate mariners were shipwrecked on its shores. The Dutch East India Company asserted a right to the country because of a purchase from a native chief. A 'factory' even was commenced, but shortly afterwards abandoned.

The Zulu nation were masters of the east coast from the Umzumvooboo to Delagoa Bay up to a comparatively recent period. In 1824 the native rulers received Europeans with friendship, and a body of Zulus, under the control of Englishmen,

¹ Describing the voyage of Vasco da Gama made with four ships for the discovery of the Indies. The edition quoted in the *Annals of Natal* is that published in the *Renowned Voyages of the Portuguese to India*, dedicated to Mr. Abraham Van Riebeeck, Governor-General of the Netherlands, and published at Amsterdam in 1727.

collected at the port (Natal). Forty persons arrived from Capetown, and a very little settlement was formed under the terrible shadow of Chaka's protection, whose people, when they first saw white men, supposed them 'to be of the brute species in the form only of man, and whose language was as unintelligible as the chatter of baboons.' The first Englishmen in Natal were greatly impressed by the Zulu power. Two Europeans who went to visit Chaka were surrounded by 12,000 men in their war attire, and the proud monarch declared that he was the greatest king in existence. His people were as innumerable as the stars, and his cattle uncountable. He was certainly the most powerful ruler in South-Eastern Africa, and during the eight years of his reign, conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Amapondas and the southern and most western parts of Delagoa. But Nemesis was at hand. Chaka dreamt that he was dead, and that the people served another king, and foolishly told his dream, which was looked upon as a portent, and induced Dingaan to lie in wait, stab his brother to death, and seize upon the kingdom.

The Voortrekkers reached Natal in 1837, and sent a deputation to wait upon the new Zulu king. The main body of the emigrants was left behind at a distance of five days' journey from the capital, while Mr. Retief, their delegate, with sixty men, advanced. Dingaan consented to allow them to settle in a territory 400 miles in extent. The agreement was to be signed without delay, and there was no suspicion of treachery. With great diplomacy and

cunning the fears of the small but intrepid band of Dutchmen were soothed to rest. They slept outside the town, and were induced to leave their guns behind, when early in the morning they were invited to visit Dingaan, conclude their business, and say farewell. They were received with effusive kindness, and offered refreshments. While they were unsuspectingly enjoying his hospitality, Dingaan issued the fatal order to his young soldiers, who easily overpowered the few unarmed emigrants, and having put them to death, bore their bodies off to a hill, on which criminals were executed, and where their corpses lay to be feasted upon by flocks of vultures hovering over the place. This dreadful deed was quickly followed by a night attack of the Zulu army upon the main camp of the emigrants, distant about five days' journey. The surprise was partially successful, but the savages were repulsed, and next day a detachment of the emigrants followed the enemy, and recovered from them a portion of the sheep which they had carried off.

It was now evident that the cruel Zulu power must be crushed, or the white man could not live in South-Eastern Africa. The Voortrekkers, inured to hardships, smarting under the lash of treachery, and bitterly resentful of the disaster they had encountered, now concentrated all their forces, and were joined by a few Europeans and Hottentots. One thousand three hundred determined men, with arms of precision, were now to try their strength against the most successful and warlike nation of Southern Africa. At Blood River on Sunday, the

16th of December 1838, the Zulus attacked the emigrants under Pretorius in their cantonments at five in the morning. The battle lasted for five and a half hours, and then the natives fled, and were pursued until sunset. No fewer than 3,600 Zulus were slaughtered, while of the Boers none were killed, and only two wounded. Three days afterwards the king's kraal was taken, where the cruel murder of the envoys had taken place, and the bodies of these men were found uninjured. Two hundred and sixty men were now sent out by Pretorius in order that this great success might be followed up, but, having captured spies of the enemy's, they believed their falsehood, and were led into an ambuscade, and with difficulty succeeded in fighting their way through thousands of Zulus who surrounded them. Subsequently 7,000 head of cattle were captured, and the entire victorious force returned to the country occupied by the emigrants between the Little Tugela and Bushmans Rivers.

Panda now treacherously intrigued against his brother Dingaan, and entered into an alliance with the emigrants, who, watching him closely, called upon him and his followers to commence the fight on the occasion of the next battle. He did so, and his forces were beginning to waver when the effective long guns of the farmers were directed at the enemy, and caused them to hesitate, break their ranks, and flee. The Boers pursued and slaughtered their enemies, while Dingaan retired to mountain fastnesses, where he was killed, and Panda thus became King of the Zulus, under the surveillance and control

of the emigrants, who now occupied the colony of Natal as their own, founded Pietermaritzburg, made D'Urban their port, and by a general election of the people, established a Volksraad or Parliament at the former town. Stephanus Maritz was the first president in 1839, and the descendants of the Dutch, who had left their homes in the Cape Colony, found fresh fields and pastures new among the beautiful hills and valleys of the garden colony of South Africa. Previous to the conclusion of hostilities they captured no fewer than 40,000 cattle from their savage enemy, and soon found themselves in a prosperous and safe position. Their exodus had led them into a fair land of promise out of the British house of bondage.¹

In 1834 the merchants of Capetown petitioned

¹ The facts in the text are taken from the interesting narrative of Willem Jurgen Pretorius, who might truly say of the events he chronicles, *magna pars fui*. This account is given in the text of *The Annals of Natal*, by John Bird, which contain, in a rough and un-hewn shape, the materials in full of a complete history of Natal. Very interesting lectures on 'The Voortrekkers of South Africa' were delivered before the Literary Society of Pretoria by the Hon. John Tudhope, who thus refers to the action of the Boers after the slaughter of their people by Dingaan: 'When Pieter Uys heard of the disaster which had befallen his friends, he at once crossed the Berg to their assistance. Thus reinforced, a command of 350 men proceeded against Dingaan. It was a bold and masterly stroke, showing the stubborn spirit of the men "cast down but not in despair." Heavily as they had suffered, they saw it was necessary to show Dingaan that they were still able to hold their own, and would punish him for his treachery. Pieter Lourens Uys and Hendrik Potgieter were the joint leaders of the force, and with Uys was his son Dirk Cornelis, a lad of fourteen. The commander saw nothing of the enemy until within a mile or two of the great place. There the Zulu army awaited them. Without hesitation Uys and his men attacked them. Riding swiftly up

the King in Council to take measures for the occupation of Port Natal, but Sir Benjamin D'Urban said that such a settlement would require probably a force of not less than 100 men for its protection, and that these could not conveniently be taken from the troops in the Cape Colony. When a captain in the Royal Navy was appointed magistrate in 1837, the few inhabitants at D'Urban protested against it, and declared that 'this country of Natal is not an acknowledged part of the British dominions, but a free settlement.' After the defeat and death of Dingaan, the whole country became a Boer Republic, so loosely governed that when a landdrost ordered a farmer to return some cattle which he had illegally withheld from a Hottentot, the farmer openly declared that he would shoot the first messenger

within twenty yards of one large division, he delivered a destructive fire, and in a short time the Zulus were in full retreat. In pursuing them the farmers got separated into small parties, and were led into an ambush, whence they had to fight their way out with a loss of ten of their number, among whom were Pieter Uys—the brave, the chivalrous Uys—and his gallant son. The manner of his death was most touching, and will remain for all time an example of filial devotion, only equalled by that of the boy in "Casabianca," commemorated in Mrs. Hemans's well-known poem. While assisting a wounded comrade out of danger, Uys received a mortal wound, and called out to his men to leave them and save themselves. Slowly and reluctantly Dirk turned to obey, but had only proceeded a few yards, when, looking round, he saw a powerful Zulu in the act of stabbing his father. Rushing back he shot the Zulu and another of the enemy, and then fell, pierced with wounds, on his father's body. "Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in death they were not divided." Englishmen will not forget that forty-one years afterwards, under somewhat similar circumstances, the brother of the little hero lost his life at the Hlobane Mountain fighting under Sir Evelyn Wood against the same ruthless foe.'

or other functionary who should come on his premises. No one therefore dared to execute the warrant.¹

The Secretary of State for the Colonies in London became alarmed by the exodus of 500 farmers from the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. According to this authority, the emigrants 'had carried off by fraud or violence a number of individuals, formerly their slaves and lately their apprenticed labourers.' 'The enormities committed by them induced Her Majesty's Government to discountenance and punish by all lawful means the acts of aggression and plunder which it was too much the practice of these emigrants to perpetrate.' Sir George Napier's despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 18th May 1838, recommends the military occupation of Port Natal in order to protect the natives of that part of South Africa from extermination or slavery by the Boers; and as the British inhabitants had dared to help the emigrants against the Zulus and thus throw off their allegiance, it was necessary to vindicate the character of the British nation.' Accordingly, towards the close of 1838 a small force of 100 men was sent to Natal. Subsequently, disturbances took place between the emigrants and the Pondos, and Sir George Napier

¹ This case came under the personal observation of Mr. Commissioner Cloete, afterwards Judge Cloete, and is referred to in his Lectures. See also Bird's *Annals of Natal*, vol. i. p. 388. For information regarding early Natal events, specially with reference to Boer migrations, there is a vast amount of reliable information in *The History of the Boers in South Africa*, by Theal. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

was convinced that the interests he represented were jeopardised. In his hands he held full power for the military reoccupation of the country, and accordingly sent off a force to check the Boers in Pondoland. His Excellency informed the Volksraad at Pietermaritzburg that Her Majesty would not recognise the emigrants as an independent people, and that so far from allowing them to form a free State he would lose no time in reoccupying the country.

This was terrible news to men who had struggled for what they considered to be the cause of freedom. Joachim Prinsloo and eighteen of the members of the little Parliament of the newly-formed State declared that they knew that there was a God who is the ruler of heaven and earth, and who has power and is willing to protect the injured, though weaker, against oppressors. In Him they put their trust. 'Fate seems, therefore, to drive us to one of two choices, namely, to bend ourselves like oxen to bear willingly the burden imposed upon us until, finding it too heavy, we commence as before a new emigration, or, in defence, to take arms, and with our fall or failure, end our troubles upon earth.' The little British force ordered to proceed from Pondoland to Natal consisted of only 263 men, mostly of the 27th Regiment, with one howitzer and two light field pieces, which, on arrival at their destination, encamped on a plain at the base of the Berea Hill, about half a mile from the few buildings which formed the embryo town of D'Urban. Burghers were now called out, and Captain Smith

was ordered to leave the country, but in reply merely said that he intended to stay. An unfortunate sortie was made but repulsed, and now the little garrison saw itself cooped up in danger of starvation or of being stormed by an irresistible force. Hundreds of miles of wild country, intersected by deep rivers, intervened between them and reinforcements, but, as the danger was great, so also was the opportunity. Richard King, whose name will ever live in South African history, bravely undertook to ride to the headquarters of the troops in Grahamstown, and his heroism can be estimated by some knowledge of the immense difficulties and dangers of his journey. Ferried across the lagoon, so as to avoid passing the farmers' camp, he had to ride through countries peopled by savages, swimming large rivers, camping under the canopy of heaven, obtaining food where he could snatch a meal, braving the cupidity of many and the treachery of all, he safely passed through the territories of the Pondos and the Kafirs, reached the Fish River, and arrived in Grahamstown, which was subsequently the terminal point of the famous ride of Sir Harry Smith from Capetown.

At Grahamstown there was no delay in despatching reinforcements, but in the meantime the little British garrison was in sore straits. The camp was invested, and fire opened upon it from an eighteen-pounder and two six-pounders, which had been captured. Captain Smith, however, determined to fight to the very last, although 600 men with artillery were opposed to him. A little vessel named

the *Mazeppa* managed to sail out under a heavy fire to look for a British man-of-war, and on her fruitless return from Delagoa Bay found the frigate *Southampton* at anchor. Richard King's ride bore fruit, and reinforcements arrived from the Cape Colony. A wing of the 25th Regiment, with other troops, were landed, the siege was raised, and the brave men who held the fort relieved, while the farmers saw that resistance was impossible. In spite of an absurd pretence that the country was under the protection of the Netherlands the inevitable had to be accepted, and Natal became a British possession.

On the 12th of May 1843 Sir George Napier issued a proclamation appointing Advocate Henry Cloete Her Majesty's Commissioner for Port Natal, and announcing that this district, 'according to such convenient limits as should be fixed upon and defined,' would be adopted as a British colony. Mr. Cloete had not only to meet 600 discontented farmers at Pietermaritzburg, but he was induced to attend a mass meeting of the women, from which he was not allowed to retire until he had listened for two hours to a violent harangue delivered by the Dutch reformed minister's wife. What a subject for an historical painting—the British Commissioner reluctantly held captive by a woman while he was told that rather than again submit to English rule, the farmers and their wives would march barefoot over the mountains to liberty or death. Submission, of course, was a necessity, but it was followed by another exodus, which strengthened the future South

African Republic.¹ But it did not merely do that. It filled an extensive and valuable portion of South Africa with a race of people who treasured an hereditary hatred to that Power which, from their point of view, had in turn exiled them from the Cape and from Natal. On the 31st of May 1844 Natal was officially declared to be a portion of the Cape Colony; but it soon drifted under a Lieutenant-Governor, with a separate existence of its own. On the 13th of November 1845 Mr. Martin West was sent from Grahamstown, where he had been Civil Commissioner of Albany, to administer the affairs of the colony, with an executive Council comprising the principal officers of the Government.

A number of the emigrant farmers desired to remain under the British flag, but found the task impracticable. After the establishment of the Colonial Government actual occupation of land for one year previous to the arrival of Commissioner Cloete had to be proved in order to obtain title, and this was an impossible task. Pretorius, the leader of the Boers, had been obliged to abandon his own farm close to Pietermaritzburg, and was chosen, together with another delegate, to lay the farmers' grievances before Governor Sir Henry Pottinger in Grahamstown; but although they repeatedly tried to obtain an interview, His Excellency declined to see them. Pretorius appealed to the

¹ How well subsequently were the words of the Psalmist exemplified: 'As arrows in the hand of the mighty, so are the children of those cast out.'

colonial Press, and specially referred to two cases in which he said that Zulus had been unjustly preferred to himself. All was in vain. The people whose representatives were thus treated considered themselves as Israelites under the oppressive sway of Pharaoh. Death in the desert was preferable to a life of slavery, so, casting off the dust of Natal from their feet, a stream of refugees flowed over the Vaal River into the country which afterwards became the El Dorado of South Africa.

On the 8th of March 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty over a tract of country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, which was described by an early traveller as 'a howling desert,' but which has long since become the home of many prosperous farmers. The announcement that the hated authority was again placed over men who had migrated to be free from it, was received with the greatest indignation. Commandant-General Pretorius took command of the Boers, a little garrison at Bloemfontein was forced to capitulate, and when Sir Harry Smith, commanding in person, pushed on all the available forces of the colony over the Orange River to put down 'the rebellion,' he soon encountered the small army of the farmers at Boomplaats, and after a rather hot engagement forced them to retire. This battle was described by the English general as one of the 'most severe *skirmishes*' in which he had ever been engaged. Of course no further resistance was possible, and Her Majesty's sovereignty was at once reproclaimed, and various officials appointed.

On the 25th of March 1851 letters-patent were issued, creating a constitution which provided for a nominee Legislative Council.

Major Warden, who had been appointed Resident, called out a commando to clear the Caledon River district of Bushmen marauders, and the Batlapin natives were afterwards suppressed. The greatest difficulties, however, were encountered from the Basutos, whose chief was one of the most remarkable men who have helped to make history in South Africa. Moshesh was a diplomatic genius, full of astuteness and discernment of character. Personally, he desired to maintain peace, but his people, eager for plunder, frequently made war inevitable. They had harboured cattle stolen from our native allies, and when called upon to restore them, sent a herd of inferior description. A meeting of all the chiefs was subsequently called at Bloemfontein, but Moshesh lamented his inability to attend, because of the confused and alarming state of affairs around him. A hurriedly collected and motley commando was sent out to subdue the Basutos, and at what has been styled the Battle of Viervet it was completely routed by the enemy under the command of Letsie, Molapo, and Moperi. The Resident of the Sovereignty (Major Warden) had made a mistake in meddling with inter-tribal contests among the natives. The Dutch farmers held aloof, and he was forced to obtain reinforcements from Natal and remain on the defensive. A Republican party among the emigrants took advantage of what they considered an opportunity,

and declared a Republic at Winburg, while Moshesh, who in after years was remarkable for his professions of devotion to the Queen, declared that he would assist them.

Certainly the British position in South Africa at this time was uncomfortable. Sir Harry Smith in the Cape Colony was engaged in repressing Hottentots, Tembus and Xosas, while for the protection of countries then considered worthless, north of the Orange River, a considerable force involving great expenditure was necessary. Compromise appeared desirable, so when the emigrant farmers wished to come to a friendly understanding, they were listened to, and their independence, in a republic beyond the Vaal River, was acknowledged by an arrangement made on the 17th January 1852, which has ever since been known as the Sand River Convention. By this treaty, Commissioners guaranteed in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws.¹ Thus did they find at last a place of refuge, and what they believed would form a permanent home in the wide extended territories of the South African Republic.

The country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers was, as has already been stated, supposed to be a dangerous encumbrance rather than a valuable acquisition. Moshesh and his Basutos had to be reckoned with as well as the Dutch Boers, and

¹ The full text is given in Theal's *History of the Boers*, p. 302.

Sir George Cathcart's experience at the Battle of Berea was by no means an agreeable one. He really had to retreat, and was most gratified when the wily chief of the Basutos astutely sued for peace. This was granted, and all the white people of the Sovereignty left to their own resources. There was an outcry and an appeal to the Imperial authorities, but Her Majesty's Government, having to look on the surface and consider the impatience of British taxpayers, decided to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty. The cunning Moshesh took care to inform all the tribes with which he was in communication that he had gained a great battle, and driven the English from his country, and thus laid the foundation of an extended reputation which greatly increased his power.

Sir George Clerk was sent out in 1853 as a Commissioner to withdraw British authority from the Sovereignty with the best grace and in the best manner possible; and the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of a high official being compelled to make overtures to men who were recently accounted rebels. Frightful pictures of the calamities which the natives would have to endure if Boers ruled over the Sovereignty were painted by anti-slavery and missionary societies in England, and in the Cape Colony abandonment was also strongly opposed. Nevertheless, the work had to be done. The territory was very distant, and thought to be utterly useless as well as extremely expensive. On investigation, many of the charges against the Boers could not be substantiated, but even

if they did carry on qualified slavery, and look upon native tribes as the Israelites did upon the Hittites and Jebusites, it was too much to expect that British taxpayers should expend enormous sums in further contests with Basutos and emigrant farmers. A well-disposed assembly met at Bloemfontein, and on the 23rd of February 1854 a convention was signed which transferred the government to representatives chosen by the inhabitants; and the Orange Free State was founded.

CHAPTER VIII

Sir George Grey—The Kafirs Checkmated—Sir Philip Wodehouse—Discovery of Diamonds—The South African Republic—President Burgers—Sir Bartle Frere—Kafir War—Difficulties with Cete-wayo—The Zulu War—Isandhlwana—Rorke's Drift—Ulundi—Blunders—Annexation of the Transvaal—War with the Boers—Sir George Colley and Majuba Hill—The Land of Goshen—Expansion.

A GREAT statesman grasped the helm of the State when Sir George Grey became Governor and High Commissioner in 1854. He found the Cape Colony at the commencement of a new political career, with representatives of the people in two Houses of Parliament, a sparsely peopled country in which sheep-farming was the principal pursuit, and a frontier constantly threatened by masses of turbulent and warlike natives. The cruel tortures inflicted by means of witchcraft were still undergone, and the domination of chiefs rendered the progress of civilisation hopeless. The new Governor quickly grasped the fact that avarice was as much a vice of savages as of Christians, and, by paying salaries to the chiefs, induced them to abandon their authority, which was put into the hands of magistrates. A strong police force and a system of espionage were established. By means of the latter every detail of the plot to kill all the cattle and then drive the hated white man into the sea was fully discovered. The necessary precautions were taken, with the result

that rebellion was made impossible, and 70,000 Kafirs died of starvation. The frontier districts were partially depopulated, and this gave a better opportunity for the location of the Anglo-German legion and a body of agricultural labourers from Germany. Sir George Grey was as enterprising in matters concerning the development of the colony as he was politic in concerting measures for its defence. Railways and a breakwater for Table Bay were commenced, and every possible effort made to lay the foundation of an empire, whose expansion Sir George Grey foresaw.

Sir Philip Wodehouse became Governor in 1862, and was as conservative as his predecessor was progressive. British Kaffraria was incorporated with the Cape Colony in 1865, much against the wishes of its inhabitants, and reactionary proposals for giving the Executive increased power, and reducing the number of the representatives of the people, having been defeated, Sir Henry Barkly, who had considerable experience in the working of constitutional government in Australia, was appointed Governor in succession to Sir Philip Wodehouse. At this period the prospects of the expansion of Southern Africa were so unsatisfactory that one of the most eminent men who had ever held office in the country, the Hon. William Porter,¹ was of opinion that no career of prosperity was before it. There had been war on the border, war between the Basutos and the Orange Free State, severe droughts

¹ Attorney-General. A most eloquent Irishman, universally beloved by the people of the Cape Colony.

causing enormous loss of sheep and cattle, the wine trade suffered under heavy depression, commercial matters were in a most unsatisfactory position, and, generally, the aspect of affairs was black enough to daunt the heart of the most enthusiastic patriot. It is always darkest in the hour before day. The dawn of prosperity arose when diamonds were discovered near the Vaal River in 1869, and the full sunshine of prosperity began to shine upon the country when, in 1871 and the years immediately following, the new dry diggings were opened at Kimberley, which soon yielded gems to the value of millions of pounds sterling per annum. Then business flourished, farmers obtained a market, and railways were extended beyond the Orange River to the new northern El Dorado.

The South African Republic, ruled as a democracy, with a house of the people's representatives styled the 'Volksraad,' had been from the first distinguished by dissensions among its people, which sometimes culminated in civil war. The Boers loved freedom from taxation in a super-eminent manner, and the Treasury was in a constant state of depletion, not improved by the premature and ambitious schemes of President Burgers. Golden coins were issued bearing his effigy, and railway material was imported only to lie unused on the shores of Delagoa Bay. None know better than the natives when opportunities exist, and the British authorities saw with grave apprehension an impoverished and badly governed state seriously threatened by the greatest savage power in South Africa. White inhabitants

called out for speedy protection, and Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, thought it wise to send Sir Theophilus Shepstone from Natal as a Special Commissioner, empowered, with the approval of the High Commissioner, to annex any territory he might think fit to the British dominions. All this was foolish, as it did not take into account the unconquerable hatred of the bulk of the people of the Transvaal to be ruled from England. It is true that Cetewayo threatened, but if we had waited a little longer the Boers would have asked us to help them, and this would have put an essentially different aspect on the position. As it was, we merely entered their country, took for granted what should never have been taken for granted—that is, the wishes of the mass of the people—and pensioning off the chief officials, declared that there was an end of that system of government for which the Voortrekkers had fought, and which was almost as dear as life to their descendants.

A tried and experienced Indian Administrator now appears upon the scene in the person of Sir Bartle Frere, who was appointed Governor of the Cape Colony and Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the year 1877. The difficulties of his administration were numerous and serious. A Kafir war had to be encountered in the first instance when the Galeka chief, Kreli, in attacking the Fingoes and carrying off their cattle, came into collision with the colonial mounted police. The natives were speedily dispersed, and Sandilli, chief of the Gaikas, their ally, was slain. Then war in the field caused a fight in

the Cabinet. Sir Bartle Frere showed that under a velvet glove his was an iron hand, and put an end to any opposition to his views by dismissing the Cabinet under Sir J. C. Molteno, the first Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and entrusting the direction of affairs to Sir J. Gordon Sprigg.

The great storm which had long threatened the entire eastern portion of South Africa now burst, and the last, greatest, and most decisive struggle commenced between the natives and the Europeans. The conquests of the ferocious Chaka had driven no fewer than 100,000 fugitives to the westward of the Tugela River, and how to rule this vast and fast-increasing number became a difficult problem. In Natal the policy of the Government has always been to keep the coloured races distinct from the white population, and to govern them by their own laws through their own chiefs under one great chief, who was, of course, a British official. It was felt that if a victorious army of Zulus crossed the Tugela, all the natives between that river and the Keiskamma would unite with them, and that the entire destruction of the white population of Natal would be almost inevitable; Cetewayo had resolved upon war, and cared little to conceal his determination. When a remonstrance was sent against the king's barbarous murder of young women, replies of extreme insolence were sent to the Natal Government, at the same time solemn promises were distinctly denied, and the great monarch declared his intention of shedding blood on a grander scale than had been as yet attempted. One of his chiefs,

Sirayo, had the audacity to enter British territory, and to carry off two women who were British subjects, and when redress was demanded it was peremptorily refused. On the 13th of January 1879 the High Commissioner declared that the best means consistent with honour had been taken to avoid war, and that he felt bound to use his power to secure future peace and safety. Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, commanding the troops in South Africa, was then ordered to carry out this resolution.

Early in January 1879 the British troops, divided into four columns, crossed the Tugela, and invaded Zululand. Our army had entered a country in which the mountain sides are furrowed by deep kloofs or ravines. 'The bush' in many places forms a natural fortress, in which the warlike native, panther-like, loves to lie in wait for his foe. The tactics of the Zulus were, however, on this occasion of a bold order. Their plan was, like that of Chaka, to fight and conquer by attacking in the form of a beast with horns, chest and loins. They usually make a feint with one horn, while the other, concealed by long grass or bush, sweeps round for the purpose of encompassing its enemy. The chest then advances, and endeavours by its vast power to crush opposition. The loins are kept at a distance, and only join in pursuit.

Unfortunately here, as elsewhere, we began by under-estimating the power of the enemy. The plan of 'laagering,' or so joining wagons together as to make an impregnable fort, seemed to have never been considered; or, if considered, dismissed

as unworthy of attention. Yet this simple plan had made small bands of Voortrekkers invincible, and might have saved a regiment on the fatal day of Isandhlwana.

We gained a battle at Inyezani, and then the portion of our troops which had been engaged continued their progress. On the 20th January 1879 the camp of the third column, comprising the 24th Regiment, with artillery, police, native contingent and volunteers, was encamped at the Isandhlwana Mountain. Lord Chelmsford moved off to attack a force said to be fourteen miles distant; and in the meantime, on the fatal 22nd January 1879 the Zulu army, 20,000 strong, consisting of the flower of Cetewayo's troops, moved in the first instance in small detached bodies to a position about a mile and a half to the east of the British camp. We were completely out-generalled. The foolish division of the British forces was known and appreciated; an opportunity was afforded and at once taken. In their usual strong formation, the entire Zulu army pounced down upon the unfortified camp. An attempt to check their progress was as feeble and unavailing as if it had been the advancing ocean tide which was combated. In spite of shells, of cannon balls, and of musketry, the steady advance of the Zulus continued. Three times was the Nkobamakosi Regiment repulsed, but the Inbonambi Regiment, coming up as a reinforcement, enabled the Zulus to rush forward along the south front of the camp and accomplish a turning movement. The camp was surrounded; overwhelming

numbers crushed everything before them. In fact, as the sea irresistibly breaks on the land, so did the Zulu host invincibly advance with overwhelming power and strength. One of our great tragedies then occurred, when naked savages, advancing with frightful yells, relentlessly stabbed their victims with assegais. No mercy was asked nor given. Four hundred and five men of one battalion fell on the field of battle, and the name of the 24th Regiment is indissolubly linked with the greatest disaster the Imperial arms ever encountered in Southern Africa. The eclipse of the sun on that day was typical of the eclipse which British power, supremacy, and prestige suffered. The great plan of Sir Bartle Frere for the British flag to wave over a South African empire, extending from Capetown to the Zambesi, was shattered to atoms. The Transvaal Boers took heart of grace, and we may trace the loss of the country which contains the richest gold mines in the world to the events which naturally grew up out of the terrible disaster of Isandhlwana. The immediate effects might have been too terrible almost to think of. A great conquering Zulu army entering Natal would have had reinforcements of 50,000 men shortly after they crossed the Tugela, and, like the devastating hordes of Attila, might have continued to gain new strength by conquest until, like a relentless torrent, it was able to pour its terrible force upon the Cape Colony. Providentially there was an obstacle which, although it seemed feeble, proved thoroughly effective. At Rorke's Drift, on the Tugela River, Lieutenant Chard of the

Royal Engineers commanded a small force, which included in its number a company of the 24th Regiment under Lieutenant Bromhead.

On the afternoon of the fatal 22nd of January two men came furiously riding from Zululand to Rorke's Drift, and called aloud to be taken across the Tugela River. They lost no time in communicating to the officer in command at the little fort the news of the fatal disaster, which meant that a great Zulu army was rapidly advancing to the attack. Every effort was immediately made for defence. Bags of provisions had to be used as breastworks, wagons were interlaced, loopholes formed, and the brave little garrison determined to repulse the enemy or die behind their frail entrenchments. Within one hour and a quarter of the alarm being given, the vanguard force of the Zulus, 600 strong, advanced at a run against the south wall. Although they sustained very heavy fire, some of them had to be driven off by the bayonet. A number of desperate assaults were resisted in the same way, and, unfortunately, the enemy was able to pour in a harassing fire from neighbouring rocks, which forced the garrison to retreat behind an entrenchment of biscuit boxes. The hospital was attacked and set in flames, desperate but ineffectual attempts were made to fire the stores, and shortly before darkness set in the gallant little force, which was fighting for their country and their own lives, was compelled to retire to the centre of the entrenchments. Until midnight they had to fight desperately, then the enemy relaxed their efforts and South Africa was saved.

The tide having been turned, flowed in favour of the British forces. The Battle of Kambulu was gained, Lord Chelmsford marched into the heart of Zululand with 4,000 men, and was able to defeat Cetewayo in a great battle at Ulundi before his successor Lord Wolseley could arrive. Soon afterwards the great Zulu monarch was captured, all the influential chiefs gave in their submission, and, if wisdom had guided operations, their territories would have been entirely annexed to the empire. But the new disposer of events, as he could not take over the country by order of the Secretary of State, thought it wise to divide it into thirteen separate districts, each ruled by a kinglet. As might have been expected, this plan resulted in disorganisation, dissatisfaction, and danger. Cetewayo was taken to England and became the African lion of the hour, and then, as a culmination of foolishness, he was sent back to his country in order apparently that a sanguinary carnival should take place. However, after this had lasted some time, the king surrendered to the British authorities and finally solved the problem of what was to be done with him by his sudden death. As the British Government only retained a 'Reserve,' the neighbouring Boer farmers stepped in and formed 'a new Republic,' which eventually became incorporated with the Transvaal, while our portion was added to Natal.

The Zulu War required British troops to be poured into South Africa at a great cost, but the war was really absolutely necessary for the expansion of South Africa, and its difficulties are principally to

be attributed to the initial disaster at Isandhlwana. Sir Bartle Frere thoroughly understood the position, and although unfortunate and treated with that injustice which misfortune commonly receives, was both a true patriot and a wise statesman. He argued justly that it would have been vain, indeed criminal, to ignore the fact that there had grown up, by our sufferance, alongside Natal a very powerful military organisation, directed by an irresponsible, bloodthirsty, and treacherous despot.¹ This extraordinary power simply made the existence of a peaceful English community so precarious as to prevent its safe continuance in any other form than that of an armed camp. Men whose religion is to fight, and whose virtues bear proportion to the number of persons they kill, must necessarily be subdued or civilisation cannot go forward. The Voortrekkers found this to be the case with the sanguinary and treacherous Dingaan. Cetewayo and his armies belonged to the same class, while with the Zulus of Matabeleland it was also found, later on, that the occupation of the country and the teaching of Christianity were impossible, unless the power of the savage was broken and his military organisation shattered. All South African history teaches the lesson that as far as aboriginal natives

¹ Miss Colenso champions the Zulu people, and, no doubt, injustices have been done to them, nevertheless a war sooner or later could certainly not have been avoided, and the complete downfall of the reign of despots in Zululand and Matabeleland was a necessity for the progress of civilisation. See works by Miss Colenso for the views of her own and her father (Bishop Colenso) in favour of the Zulus and against the policy adopted by Sir Bartle Frere.

are concerned, you must either conquer or be conquered. There is no medium, no compromise, so far as the savage races are concerned, and it is idle to talk as if wars were forced upon natives—they come as an absolute necessity, and without them the expansion of South Africa would have been impossible.

An unfortunate man is always in the wrong when responsible ministers are masters, and therefore Sir Bartle Frere was recalled, not listened to when his advice should have been asked, and, having served the nation as a patriot, received the usual reward of being neglected when living and honoured by a monument after his death—

As if honour's breath could revive the silent dust,
Or memory soothe the dull, cold ear of death.

The attention of the civilised world was drawn to Zululand when the terrible intelligence reached Europe of the death of the Prince Imperial. The heir of that brilliant dynasty, whose founder had conquered and awed nations, was stabbed to death by savages in a remote corner of distant Southern Africa. The Prince, being fond of hard work, and exceedingly daring, could scarcely be prevented from going out with patrols and on reconnaissance duty. At the commencement of June 1879 he was attached to the Quartermaster-General's department at General Newdigate's camp, and obtained leave to go in advance of his division. The reconnoitring party consisted of Lieutenant Carey, 98th Regiment, six men of Bettington's Horse, and one Kafir, all under the command of the Prince Imperial. A

halting-place in a donga¹ was chosen, where they off-saddled for an hour. During that time fifty Zulus crawled through the long grass, ready to make a spring, but one was seen by the Kafir attached to the British patrol, and he reported the circumstance to the Prince, who, unfortunately, only coolly remarked that he would give another ten minutes. All the horses were ready and saddled. Then came the words 'Prepare to mount,' 'Mount,' followed by a crashing volley fired from forty rifles at a distance of twenty yards. Immediately afterwards, with a tremendous cry of 'Usutu' and 'Lo, the English cowards!' the savages rushed on. The horses swerved, and some even broke away, while everyone who could spring on his horse did so and galloped off. There was one exception. The Prince Imperial's horse, which was sixteen hands high and always difficult to mount, became so frightened by the firing and stampede as to rear and prance in such a manner as to make it impossible for his master to mount. All rushed past, each man trying only to save himself, and although the Prince strained every nerve to gain the saddle, his holster unfortunately gave way, and the excited horse, having trampled upon him, broke loose and ran away. Fourteen Zulus now advanced, and with the intrepidity of his race and country the heir of the Napoleons died with his face to the foes, fighting courageously to the last. His first wound was mortal, and although the death of this noble and beloved scion of a great house was extremely

¹ Small narrow valley or depression.

lamentable, yet, nevertheless, there was some consolation in knowing that he did nothing in his last moments—as during his short career—either to sully the name he bore or the country which gave him birth. With all the marks of respect which were possible, the body of the deceased Prince was conveyed to D'Urban, Natal, and thence in H.M.S. *Boadicea* to England.¹

The Basutos always gave trouble, and under Moshesh had been so successful that they were emboldened to defy the Cape Colony in the year 1880, when they were unwisely called upon to deliver up their arms under the provisions of a Peace Preservation Act passed in 1877. More than a million pounds sterling were squandered, the war was a failure, and Basutoland had to be abandoned and placed under the control of the Imperial Government, since which time it has been benefited by a law excluding the sale of intoxicants. The people are now among the most sober and industrious in South Africa. The brandy interest in the western districts of the Cape finds its principal market, almost its only market, among the native tribes of South Africa, and, as a consequence, new, badly distilled, ardent spirits are spread broadcast among these people, to their serious detriment and that of the labour market of the country.

Unquestionably a serious blunder was made by the annexation of the Transvaal to Great Britain,

¹ A full account of the circumstances attendant on the death and funeral of the Prince Imperial are contained in *The History of the Zulu War*, by A. Wilmot. London, 1880.

ratified by Lord Carnarvon on behalf of the Crown in 1877. As in the case of Isandhlwana, so in that of the South African Republic, the ignorance of our representatives was simply phenomenal. The mass of the people of Dutch extraction were indignant that the country which the Voortrekkers had shed their blood to acquire—the land of promise which the new Israelites had entered into—should be abandoned to the Pharaoh from whose bondage they had escaped. Lord Chelmsford seemed to have no information about Zulu movements previous to his great defeat, and our Shepstones and Carnarvons were content calmly to place a new and hated government upon the top of a volcano, under which the passions of hatred and the ardent desire of freedom furiously burnt. Deputations had gone to England, one of which bore memorials from 6,000 inhabitants. No redress nor promise of redress could be obtained. The representative assembly¹ promised them was even not granted, and when Sir Garnet Wolseley successfully stormed the stronghold of the chief Secocoeni the Boers sullenly held aloof. The indiscreet actions of Sir W. Lanyon, the Administrator of the Transvaal, at last filled the cup of the people's indignation to overflowing, and the members of the old Volksraad, which had not assembled since 1877, were summoned to meet at Paardekraal, now known as Krugersdorp, on 13th December 1880. Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius were ap-

¹ If Sir Bartle Frere had been listened to and representative institutions given at once to the Transvaal, it is possible that the Boers might have been conciliated.

pointed a triumvirate to carry on the government, large forces of burghers were levied, Pretoria as well as other towns garrisoned by English troops were invested, and a detachment of the 94th Regiment was attacked on the march, when no fewer than fifty-five men, as well as the commanding officer, were killed.

Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal and High Commissioner, saw an opportunity of which he determined to take the utmost advantage, but his zeal and headstrong courage unfortunately far exceeded either his experience or ability. He marched to the border with little more than 1,000 men and six guns, but General Joubert, anticipating this movement, crossed at once into Natal and occupied a strong position at Laing's Nek. On the 28th of January 1881 the British troops attempted to storm this pass, but were met with a deadly fire from the well-directed guns of protected men, and were repulsed with heavy loss. At Ingogo Heights there was another disaster on the 7th of February. General Sir Evelyn Wood shortly afterwards arrived with reinforcements, and if he had been given time to come up, it is probable that the campaign would have assumed a different aspect; but while the troops of the latter were being hurried on, Sir George Colley, eager to retrieve his losses, with recklessness utterly unrelieved by any skill, marched out of camp at night with 400 men and occupied Majuba Hill, which overlooked the Boer camp. The 27th of February 1881 was another fatal day for the British arms in Southern Africa. A portion of the Dutch farmers' force ascended the hill and, taking ad-

vantage of capital cover afforded by rocks, drove the troops off. Sir George Colley, six officers, and ninety men were killed, and Commandant-General Joubert was able to report that 'the troops fought like true heroes, but God gave us the victory.'

The knell of British supremacy was now sounded ; for although 10,000 troops were ordered out, and the greatest British general of the day appointed to command them, General Roberts was recalled, and a convention ratified at Pretoria on the 25th of October 1881 guaranteeing complete self-government to the people of the Transvaal, subject to the suzerainty of the Queen. The truth is that the British taxpayer was not prepared to spend millions on a new South African war, particularly when the country was not considered worth fighting for. It is true that Mr. Gladstone said that if the territory were 'as valuable as it was worthless, the same policy would have been adopted.' It should be mentioned that before the engagement at Majuba Hill President Brand of the Orange Free State, when exercising his influence in favour of peace, was supported by the Home Government ordering Sir George Colley to suspend hostilities if the Boers would cease fighting, in order that a scheme might be developed for granting them self-rule. Eventually in 1884 all responsibility for the internal management of the affairs of the State was entirely abandoned, the right being reserved of veto over any treaties with other countries, with the one exception of the Orange Free State. At the same time it was distinctly agreed between Her Majesty's Commis-

sioners and Mr. Kruger with other Boer representatives that British subjects were to have substantially equal rights with burghers, and this specially included the franchise.¹ The convention also prescribed complete religious toleration, but the Roman Catholics and Jews, nevertheless, were debarred from holding office in a country which styled itself a Republic. The salient feature in the abandonment of the Transvaal in 1881 was breach of faith to loyal subjects of the Queen, who lost all because of a vain belief in reiterated assurances by accredited officials that the country would never be given up. There is no doubt that in this retrocession, which absolutely included the betrayal of our own people's guaranteed interests, we sowed the wind which eventually culminated in the war.

Native chiefs are the catspaws of governments as well as of concessionaires, and disputes between Batlapin, Barolong, and Koranna chiefs served to illustrate this fact. Mankaraone and Montsioa came under British rule, as their status was recognised by the Keate² award, Massouw and Moshette were ranged on the other side, favoured by the protection of the Transvaal Republic. Now there was an opportunity for freebooters to take side and fight after the fashion of the free-lances of the Middle Ages. The allies of Massouw formed a small but 'free and independent' Republic which they styled 'Stella-

¹ See the proof of this statement in the letter from the Right Hon. Sir H. De Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, one of the Commissioners, printed in Blue Book laid before Parliament.

² The decision given with respect to territorial claims by the arbitrator Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal.

land'; and those of Moshette, not to be outdone, formed another state on the same plan, to which they gave the inviting name of 'Goshen.' The members of the Convention of London saw the absolute necessity of keeping open a great British trade route to the north, and as a means to this end, as well as for the purpose of stopping inter-tribal disputes, an extension of the Transvaal territory was provided for, so as to place Massouw and Moshette within its limits, and at the same time a British Protectorate was established over Montsioa, Mankaroane, and the rest of the Bechuana tribe. Nevertheless, the Goshen free-lances sallied forth against the town of Mafeking, belonging to Montsioa; and shortly afterwards, as the chief had foolishly called in Commandant Joubert as a mediator, the South African Republic assumed jurisdiction over him and his people. The British Government immediately protested against this violation of the convention, and a force of 4,000 men, including 2,000 irregular cavalry, was sent up under Sir C. Warren, R.E., who established peace and order throughout Bechuanaland, and effectually put an end to any claims in that direction on the part of the South African Republic, which had promptly withdrawn its annexation proclamation when it was seen that a war with Great Britain might be the result. A further expansion of British territory took place in the year 1885, when the British Protectorate was declared to extend over Bechuanaland and the Kalahari. A Crown Colony, styled British Bechuanaland, was formed in the country south of the Molopo River.

CHAPTER IX.

Natal again—Representative Institutions, Populations, etc.—The Orange Free State—Brief Sketch of History—Griqualand West as a Separate Crown Colony—Incorporation with the Cape Colony—Cape Events—Germany in Damaraland—The Matabele Nation—Chaka and Lo Bengula.

NATAL was divided into six counties in the year 1850, and in the two chief towns, D'Urban and Pietermaritzburg, municipal institutions were established. In 1856 a new constitution, including a legislative council, whose members were elected by the people, was conferred upon this colony, whose total white population was then 8,500. Disturbances with the Amahlubi tribe under the chief Langalibalele were successfully repressed, and although the local government sat metaphorically upon a gunpowder magazine, no spark of insurrection was seriously feared until the war with Cetewayo broke out. Natal necessarily receives a large share of the trade of the Transvaal, as considerable enterprise has been shown in pushing forward sugar and other industries, while in recent years tea planting has become very successful.

The responsible government in Natal is of very recent formation, and under it there are two houses of Parliament. The entire white population has now increased to 42,000. The Indian coolies imported

for sugar cultivation number 43,000, while the aboriginal tribes comprise about 500,000 souls. Much bravery has been displayed by the handful of white people taking upon themselves the terrible responsibilities of managing half a million of the descendants of Moselikatze and other warlike champions of the Zulu and Kafir races. It must be admitted, however, that the destruction of the power of Cetewayo, and, last of all, the great successes of the Chartered Company, leave little to be feared. Nevertheless, the black races in Southern Africa have been increasing, and are now multiplying at a quicker rate than the white people. So much so is this the case, that there is some reason for contending that coloured people may yet dominate this vast country now in course of being opened up for enterprise. Our European brethren must help us. They have congested populations panting for employment, full of enterprise, in many cases battling even for food. In the vast regions whose history we are recording there is ample room in all descriptions of healthful country for that human energy which is dashing itself in old countries against the bars of restriction.

The Orange River Colony is separated by the Orange River from the Cape Colony, and by the Vaal River from the Transvaal. Early this century it was partially occupied by murderous bands of marauders, who were designated Bergenaars, and who, while carrying on a war against the Bushmen, constantly plundered the stock of the Bechuanas, and killed those who resisted. The Boers were too

strong for these savages, and thus added to the wrongs which they have inflicted on the native races. The central portion of the country was uninhabited, and there white settlements were first made.

In 1835-6 the large number of farmers who cast off the dust of a British colony from their feet organised a government, which they styled a company, and formed their headquarters at Winburg. They soon came into contact with the half-caste Griquas, who were assisted by the British Government, and Sir Peregrine Maitland intervened in 1845 and dispersed the Boers at Zwartkoppies. A British Resident was appointed, and the whole territory was subsequently annexed to the empire under the title of the Orange Sovereignty. Already we have adverted to the unsuccessful attempt of the farmers to retain their own form of government. Their defeat at Boomplaats in 1848 by Sir Harry Smith caused them to retreat further into the interior. These haters of authority trekked to that country beyond the Vaal, which was yet to become wealthy and world-renowned under the name of the South African Republic. 'Like arrows in the hand of the mighty, so are the children of those cast out' has been fully and bitterly exemplified in the case of the emigrant Boers of the Cape Colony, who have handed down from father to son traditional hatred of that empire which, in their opinion, drove them forth to seek homes in the desert.

The Orange River Territory, being looked upon as troublesome, worthless, and likely to lead the British taxpayer into difficulties, was abandoned

in 1854, and became subsequently the Orange Free State, well and wisely governed as a Republic, under a President and Volksraad at Bloemfontein. Strange irony of fate! the cast-off States have given their former masters great reason to regret their abandonment. The Transvaal became one of the greatest gold-mining countries in the world; and the Orange Free State showed itself about 1869 to contain mines of diamonds more rich, vast and wonderful than any described in Oriental tales. There is little doubt that the great dry diggings at Kimberley were all really within the Free State boundary. The Republic in due course sent its officers to exercise jurisdiction; but then arose the claim of the Griqua chief, Waterboer, ceded to the British Government, and accepted by it. Griqualand West was formed, and the Boers saw themselves robbed of their territory, seemingly because it was worth taking. The weaker Government had, of course, to submit; but eventually Her Majesty's Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, paid £90,000 as 'compensation,' and offered a further sum of £15,000 to encourage the construction of railways.

The fevered life of 'Griqualand West' as a separate Crown Colony was of brief duration. The first diamond was picked out of river pebbles collected by a farmer's child from the bed of the Orange River, in the Hope Town division of the Cape Colony. In 1870 the first dry digging was discovered, and a Port Elizabeth firm purchased the famous Vooruitzicht Estate for £6,000, and resold it to the Colonial Government for £100,000. Num-

bers of claims were marked out, sold and resold ; a big mining camp sprang up, which grew into the town of Kimberley, and a Lieutenant-Governor,¹ with a Secretary and Council, endeavoured to evoke order out of the chaos of a motley mining population. Disturbances occurred, and troops were sent up to quell them. Then came trying times, when diamonds fell and shares were at a discount.

A master spirit now arose in South Africa, whose first successes were in discerning the cause of these disasters and applying a remedy. He saw that unless the diamond market were controlled there could be no hope of success. Diamonds to the amount of several millions annually were obtained from very numerous mines, and the only way to prevent utter collapse of the market was consolidation. This man was Mr. Cecil Rhodes, an English gentleman, who came to seek health in South Africa, and after farming experiences not remarkable for success found himself among the fortune-seekers at the new El Dorado. He allied himself to the De Beers Mining Company, founded in 1880 with a capital of £200,000, which by degrees absorbed most of its smaller neighbours, till at the end of March 1885 its capital was raised to £841,000. Going on with a policy of amalgamation steadily directed by Mr. Rhodes, its capital in 1888 exceeded £2,250,000. At last lengthy negotiations resulted in the diamond-producing mines of De Beers, Kimberley, Du Toits Pan, and Bultfontein, being practically

¹ This was Sir Richard Southey, formerly Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony previous to the grant of responsible government.

under the control of the great De Beers Consolidated Company, at a cost of £14,500,000, a great part of which was paid by means of debentures. The revenue of this company now exceeds £3,000,000 per annum, and it is estimated that £100,000 per month is spent by the company in Kimberley. The scale of operations is very large, and the machinery used of the best possible description. By means of regulating the market, prices are kept up to a mark which enables the mines to be worked profitably. It is true that at one time 12,000 men were at work, when now perhaps only a third of the number is employed; but it is better to go on steadily with a comparatively small output than to carry on operations extensively and collapse. Griqualand West was in due course incorporated with the Cape Colony, of which it is now as much an integral part as the division of Stellenbosch.

The Orange River Free State, ruled wisely and well, gave true freedom to its inhabitants, and, under an enlightened system of government, obtained, without cost or risk, a yearly income of £160,000 per annum from railways made by the Cape Colony through its territories. It had, however, its days of difficulties and of dangers, when the wily Moshesh fought with his Basutos against its burghers, and, being utterly defeated, threw himself upon British clemency, and obtained the proclamation of British sovereignty and protection over the country since known as Basutoland. It also suffered from the jealousy of its Transvaal neighbours, who at one time concocted a plot for obtaining the help of the

Basutos, and by means of their aid conquering the Free State.¹ The progress of this little republic was satisfactory. Up to 1870 its annual revenue did not exceed £70,000, but in 1886 it had risen to about £200,000 per annum. It obtained a share in customs dues collected at colonial ports, as well as of railway profits. It occupies an extensive tableland about 400 miles in length, having a breadth of 200 miles, with an altitude above sea-level of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and its great undulating plains extend

In airy undulations,
As if the ocean in its gentlest swell
Stood still, with all his rounded billows fixed
And motionless for ever.

The white population is greater than that of Natal, as it comprises 77,000 people of European descent, and the natives number about 130,000. An excellent Parliament (Raad) guided and governed both the State President and the State. Here, indeed, there was a Republic where 'religion was free and conduct only amenable to law.' Great Britain had no quarrel with this country until it attacked us in conjunction with the South African Republic in the year 1899, and thus lost its independence.

To write the detailed history of the Cape Colony during the latter portion of the nineteenth century would require lengthy and undesirable reference to politics. Representative and responsible institutions

¹ See for proof of this Paul Botha's pamphlet, *To the Boers*. Mr. Botha was himself a member of the Free State Volksraad, and writes of matters which came within his personal knowledge.

worked only tolerably well, and though very much has yet to be done, the statute book is filled with good laws, and the development of the country by railways has been partially attempted. About 2,000 miles of iron roads cost £20,000,000, but the interest is fully paid by the railway revenue, and a balance remains to the credit of the taxpayer. In 1899 all the lines taken together paid between 4 and 5 per cent., and at the present time (1901) $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Cape of Good Hope debentures are quoted in London at considerably over par value. These are extremely significant facts, which show what the mining centres have done for South Africa; for, indubitably, without the diamonds of Kimberley and the gold mines of Johannesburg, no line of railway would even yet exist as far north as the Orange River. The last great railway development is the continuation of the line from the Cape Colony *via* Mafeking to Bulawayo with extensions, for which a sum of more than one and a half million pounds sterling has been raised by the British South Africa Company. The internal development of the country is, however, very backward. No country requires irrigation more on an extensive scale, and in none would well-developed irrigation schemes pay better, but this source of wealth has been comparatively neglected.

In July 1890 the ministry of Sir J. Gordon Sprigg was defeated on a question of heavy additional expenditure for railway construction, and Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes, member of the Legislative Assembly for Barkly, grasped the helm of the State, and, with a

change in the *personnel* of his Cabinet, remained until 1895 Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. '*E pluribus unum*' seemed to be his motto. We have already seen him uniting interests at the diamond fields so as to form one great consolidated company, able to control the market, and therefore strong enough to keep mines constantly at work which would certainly otherwise have collapsed. We must now regard him as an empire-maker, stretching forth imperial sway from the land of Lo Bengula to the great African lakes.

Sir Henry Loch succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of the Cape Colony and Her Majesty's High Commissioner. Both men no doubt indefatigably tried to do their duty. The latter governed with timidity, and always seemed to fear the Bond. Pondoland was annexed in 1894, and in the following year Sir Hercules Robinson was reappointed Governor of the Cape Colony and Her Majesty's High Commissioner. The annexation of British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony followed.

South Africa has been the Rip Van Winkle of the world, as, although colonised in 1652, it seemed to be asleep for more than 200 years, and only to wake up to a new life and new conditions towards the close of the nineteenth century. A great expansion of British rule in Africa which has taken place occurred within the last twenty years. Many events led up to it, and it must be admitted that a desire to obtain riches has been the principal motive power. Herr Mauch proclaimed the existence of gold in Matabeleland many years ago, but his voice was of

one crying in the wilderness ; nevertheless, his discoveries induced Thomas Baines to turn his attention to the subject, to obtain a concession from Lo Bengula, and to send home specimens of quartz which, when assayed in London, proved to be exceedingly rich. Nothing, however, was done by the syndicate who obtained this concession. The extension of sovereignty over British Bechuanaland and the country to the Zambesi was followed in 1888 by a treaty of peace concluded with Lo Bengula in his capacity as King of Matabeleland whereby, among other stipulations, it was agreed that this potentate should be debarred from entering into any treaty or correspondence with foreign powers without the sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner.

Very slight reference is necessary to the action of Germany in Damaraland. The Cape Colony most foolishly allowed this country to slip from its grasp, but retained possession of Walwich Bay. German operations have not been hitherto very successful. The country itself is suitable for cattle raising, and is conjectured to be rich in mineral resources, but no emigration to it worthy of the name has yet taken place, and constant struggles with native chiefs have hitherto almost exclusively occupied the attention of the small force which garrisons this extensive country.¹

¹ A railway is projected from Great Fish Bay in German territory to Buluwayo with a branch to the Transvaal. If this plan be carried out, as it ultimately must, the effect will be to take away the great inland mineral centre trade from Cape ports. The Cape Colony has at present a veto power so far as Rhodesia is concerned, but eventually Delagoa Bay on the east coast and Great Fish Bay on the west coast must take the Rhodesian and Transvaal trade.

The rise and fall of the Matabele nation is one of the unknown chronicles of an almost unknown land,¹ but it is fraught with romance and interest. The valley of the Buffalo River in Zululand is the cradle of one of the most sanguinary races which ever desolated mankind. Umzilegazi was so called because of his father having been killed in battle, and because wherever he went blood (*ogazie*) fell in the track of his footsteps. Chaka, the great marauder, then ruled, and he contended that no man should be king unless he won the throne by his assegai. This man has been correctly described as the Napoleon of South Africa, as his conquests extended to the Zambesi, and, in 1824, he appointed Umzilegazi commander of the home forces, while he went forth to slaughter in Natal and Pondoland. This lieutenant had only waited for an opportunity, and now, with 12,000 warriors and all the women and children of the nation, marched upwards through Swaziland into Matabeleland, where he quickly killed or enslaved the peaceful agricultural inhabitants. On Chaka's return to Zululand, he was violently enraged at the conduct of his Induna, and led his powerful army against him, but Umzilegazi, having been warned by the Swazies, trekked into the beautiful Marico division of the Transvaal, where to the present day his descendants are known as the Amandebele, or naked people with shields. Here

¹ The important information embodied here is taken from a lecture by Mr. Dennis Doyle, delivered in Grahamstown, but never published in Europe. This gentleman lived among the Matabele at Buluwayo, and knows the language and customs of the people intimately.

their armies made desolate the neighbouring districts, although they departed from the usual custom of killing women and children, and substituted slavery for death. Umzilegazi's son by his first royal wife was named Kuruman, but another child was born in Marico in 1831, and was given the name of Lo Bengula, or one 'driven by the wind.'

The power of Chaka was feared by Umzilegazi, but that of the Voortrekkers made him flee beyond the Limpopo. At first he established himself beside the Tati goldfields, but eventually chose a fertile, well-watered and healthy country not far distant, and then he declared that his son Lo Bengula should be his successor. Constant raids went on against the unfortunate Mashonas, who were hunted down like wild beasts; infamous savage customs and superstitions were carried on, and a writer who has lived in the country and well understands the language and manners of the people states that, although missionaries were established for more than thirty years among the Zulus, he is not aware that they made a single convert beyond those natives who were servants to clergymen. Umzilegazi listened on one occasion to a religious discourse concerning a future state, and asked at its conclusion, pointing to the subject Bakahla people, 'Then what will become of these slaves?' and when he was told that they also could be saved, cried out, 'Then I do not want to be a Christian.'

In 1868 'the mountain had fallen,' or, in other words, Umzilegazi was dead, and some time afterwards, when the death of Kuruman had been proved,

Lo Bengula was proclaimed king, but the Zwandaba retired from the council, and declared that they would never pay homage to the son of a Swazie woman. As the rebel faction was resolute, the new king proceeded to attack them, and when he bravely rode before their lines, was received with a storm of bullets. A desperate fight ensued, and Lo Bengula was the conqueror. Then, to commemorate this victory, the kraal of Buluwayo, or 'the one to be slain,' was formed.

The first regiment of the kingdom was now ordered out to blood their spears, and a tribe in the north-west designated as their victims, whom they then proceeded to murder with that sanguinary fury which is a type of exalted virtue among savages. But perhaps nothing can better indicate the absolute cruelty of the race than the conduct of Lo Bengula to his own sister, with whom for years he had lived on terms of friendship and affection. Nina, as she was called by the Europeans, was his constant companion, ate out of the same dish, and exercised a powerful and favourable influence over him. Suddenly she was accused of witchcraft, taken away a few hundred yards, and strangled in the light of day by order of her own brother. When led to execution, one of the most dramatic scenes recorded in South African history took place. This princess, who had long borne sway over the mind of the king, knew full well that jealousy had caused her destruction; so, on the way to execution, she turned to the queens, and in an awful manner, raising her hand to heaven,

invoked a terrible curse upon them, and swore by Matshobana that no child of Lo Bengula, born of a Gaza woman, would ever sit on the throne of the Matabele. From that day not one of these women brought forth a child.

The death of his own sister seemed only to whet the king's appetite for blood. His brother, who resembled him, was once mistaken for him, consequently witchcraft was introduced and the culprit slain. Numbers of other relations were also killed, and to be akin to Lo Bengula was to be in the most dangerous position in the country. It is, of course, impossible to furnish a catalogue of the merciless acts of this monster, who received the sympathy of thousands of philanthropic people in England, but notice should be taken of the atrocious murder of Umhlaba, the Vice-Regent, and most of his family, in 1892. This man, whose father had saved the life of the king, was sacrificed to a ferocious jealousy which regarded neither gratitude nor justice.¹

The lost tribe of Umpezeni was sought for and

¹ The ideal set before the Zulu or Matabele was exactly the ideal set before the Greeks of Homer and the Norsemen of the Sagas—

A heathen horde,
Reddening the sun with smoke, and earth with blood,
And on the spike that split the mother's heart,
Spitting the child.

(Tennyson's *Coming of Arthur*, p. 5, ed. 1869.)

To the Viking, the way of plunder, murder, and massacre in this life led to happiness in the next with Odin in Valhalla. While Homer makes Ulysses boast of his dreadful work when he says (*Odyssey* I. 39-42), 'A breeze, bearing me away from Ilium, brought me to the Ciconians,

found, mixed up with the Mashonas as one people. Relying on promises of protection, they cultivated their fields, and collected together a few cattle and goats. Down came the wolf on the fold, men were killed, women enslaved, and the country turned into a desolate waste.

In 1888, Messrs. Rudd, Maguire, and Thomson obtained the celebrated gold concessions which became the *raison d'être* for a royal charter to the British Africa Company. But it was at first thought that the great Queen disapproved. To make this right, the magnificent appearance and uniform of officers and men of the Horse Guards were spectacularly used, and Lo Bengula succumbed to the splendour of plumes, helmets, and cuirasses. A queen's letter in such hands was sufficient proof. Then came the pioneer force, which successfully penetrated to Salisbury, led by the traveller Selous, under the military command of Colonel Pennefather. Why did not the king then strike? A writer, thoroughly conversant with the subject, partially replies to the question when he tells us that the

to Ismarus: there I sacked their city, and destroyed the men, after taking their wives and much property out of the city.' Writing of such deeds, Thucydides (1-5) declares that 'such occupation, in no respect having disgrace attached to it, rather bringing somewhat of glory with it.' Of no nation in the world, ancient or modern, can the following words in "Guinevere" be more fitly applied than to the kings of the Zulu race:—

The children born of thee are sword and fire,
Red ruin and breaking up of laws,
The craft of kindred, and the godless hosts
Of heathen swarming.

stern rule of former days had been relaxed, and offences once punishable by death were now openly committed. Nevertheless, the young Matabele warriors clamoured to be led against the white man. They were accustomed to hunt the Mashonas like game, and foolishly believed that their forces were invincible.¹ Mr. Dennis Doyle says, 'I have spent hours and days in endeavouring to convince the men of the Umbezo and other regiments that any conflict with us would mean certain defeat to the Matabele. They would listen with an amused smile, and remark, "Well, before we pay tribute, we will fight, and then we will see who is best."' Extraordinary repetitions and analogies in history. Chaka was the first Napoleon of Southern Africa, Lo Bengula was the third. The latter felt that he must be ruined, and delayed the fatal day as long as he could, but at last was borne away to destruction by the foolishness and enthusiasm of his own people.

The ferocious Zulus have been the invariable curse of this portion of the African continent. They depopulated Magaliesberg and Marico, two of the most fertile districts of a beautiful country. They entered no land which they did not fill with destruction, murder and rapine.² The Mashonas were so systematically hunted and killed that a well-peopled country

¹ Exactly like the mass of South African Boers subsequently, who firmly believed that they were the people of the Lord, who could certainly and easily defeat the British nation.

² One of the most recent books on South-Eastern Africa, by Mr. Selous, gives us the following significant facts which came under the personal observation of the author :—

'When the Matabele came, filing out in long lines across the open

became a desolate waste. The Matabele were a perpetual barrier to peace and civilisation, but their turn came when the British flag waved over the forts of the Chartered Company.

The question soon became perfectly clear. Were Lo Bengula and his braves to continue the scourge and ruin of the country or to be thoroughly conquered? The Matabele themselves knew that this was the real issue, as has already been indicated, and the young men of the army, who believed that the only reason for their existence was to shed blood, continued to raid and kill in the neighbourhood of the whites. Outrage followed outrage, and if impunity had been longer permitted, the Europeans would then have been attacked and murdered.

plain, in which Gazuma is situated, the Bushmen all ran away into the forest, with the exception of a few who took refuge in Africa's hut. One man and his wife, a woman with a young child at her breast, remained outside in the enclosure which surrounded the principal hut, saying that the Matabele would not interfere with Georos's, as Georos was Lo Bengula's friend. They helped themselves to meat, and then one of the Indunas asked some questions, and then plunged his assegai through the body of the baby and into the breast of the woman, killing them both with one thrust. He then stabbed the man through the arm and the muscles of the chest, just as he turned to run, calling out at the same time, "Kill that dog."

Another instance may be given of the faithlessness and brutality of the Matabele :—

'At Khamas Wagon they also captured a Bushman, and told him his life would be spared if he would guide them to Pandamatenka. They struck the Wagon about fourteen miles from their destination, and then, knowing where they were, felt that they had no need of their guide, and assegaied him. "Three years afterwards, in 1888," says Mr. Selous, "I was shown the spot where his remains had long lain at the foot of an ant heap, just at the side of the wagon track."

CHAPTER X

The Key to Native Politics—Religion—Lo Bengula—The Great Northern Gold Fields—Zimbabwe—Monomotapa and Ancient Gold Diggings—The Chartered Company's Pioneers' March—Mashonaland—Difficulties with the Portuguese—Progress of events in Mashonaland—The Matabele hunt down the Mashonas—The Chartered Company interfere—War with Lo Bengula—Defeat of the Zulu forces—Death of the King.

THE key to native politics and native proceedings in Southern Africa is a knowledge and appreciation of the religion of the natives and the machinery of witchcraft, by means of which it is practised. There is a very vague idea about a supreme being, but a very definite belief in the influence of the spirits of ancestors. The witch doctors are the mediums, and fulfil the threefold offices of doctors, priests, and soothsayers. They possess a knowledge of subtle and powerful poisons, so frequently used that everyone who gives food to another takes part himself to prove that it contains nothing hurtful. Necessarily, men who are believed to have full power over the invisible world, possess enormous influence, which is made use of by chiefs and powerful men for the purpose of destroying enemies and promoting schemes of war and plunder. A youth who aspires to be enrolled among the 'Isamesi' gives early signs of being destined for

the office. He dreams of the spirits of the departed chiefs of his people, sees visions, falls into fits of frenzy, seeks out medicinal roots, and goes for instruction to experienced Isamesi. At last, what is called 'a change in the moon' takes place within him, he becomes a medium, fitted and enabled to hold converse with spirits.¹ The Zulu government was despotic in an extreme degree, as the king's will was law and he had unlimited power of life or death. Of course, his power was maintained by his soldiers, and to make them invulnerable the great national sacrifice of the 'Ukukufula' was made, when flesh was cut off the shoulder of a living beast and roasted on a fire into which certain charms were thrown. Each man bit off a mouthful, while the unfortunate animal was left in torture.

Lo Bengula, although master of everyone in his country and a terror to neighbouring tribes, became

¹ One of the greatest authorities, Mr. Warner, says (*Kafir Races*, p. 287), 'It is impossible to suppose that these priests are not to a considerable extent self-deceived, as well as the deceivers of others; and there is no difficulty to one who believes the Bible to be a divine revelation, in supposing that they are also to a certain extent under Satanic influence; for the idolatrous and heathen nations of the earth are declared in the inspired volume to be, in a peculiar manner, under the influence and power of the devil.' The Hon. Mr. Godlonton in his *Case for the Colonists* gives us details of a process of torture, which is quoted merely as a specimen:—'Although this poor victim implored for death, it was not granted to him until he had been literally roasted. Red-hot stones were placed on his groin, and when they slipped off, were held in position by means of sticks.' Another very common torture is that of smearing a victim, and then allowing him to be slowly eaten up by black ants or scorpions, whose thousand bites and stings produce lingering and excruciating torture. Roasting to death over a slow fire, so as to torture the unhappy victim for many hours, was very frequently resorted to.

unable to control the fierce military spirit which, like the vampire of story, continually required feasts of blood. Like another Frankenstein, he raised up a monster which he could not master, and which eventually destroyed him. Although so ruthless as to cause the death of his own sister, and utterly regardless of human life, as well as foully superstitious, he nevertheless saw the advantage of keeping on good terms with white men, from whom he was shrewd enough to obtain many gifts. He was sufficiently astute to pose before them as a man who kept his word, and who was desirous of protecting them. It was, of course, his interest to do so, but we shall find that eventually his power was inadequate.

The newest gold country in the world was soon seen to be the oldest. Mauch, Baines, and other explorers found extensive ancient workings, and the vague reports which from time to time reached the outer world about prehistoric ruins were fully confirmed when we received particulars concerning a subject of world-wide archæologic interest—the remains of the very ancient fort and temple of “Zimbabwe.” Situated on a granite hill, with walls from sixteen to thirty-five feet high, and enclosing large and small stone towers, this conundrum from antiquity challenges solution. The work is rude and unsymmetrical. No written characters have been found engraved on the soapstone beams embedded in the walls, or on the large flat stones standing upright on the floor. ‘Lozenge-shaped and herring-bone patterns are carved, which agree exactly with

the ornamentation on the outside,' and, as Mr. Selous says,¹ 'more curious still, not alone with the patterns carved on the wooden knife sheaths, and scored on the pottery of the natives all over Mashonaland at the present day, but also with the patterns used in ornamenting the household utensils of all kinds in the Barotse Valley hundreds of miles away.' The circular building is a specimen of the ancient Phallic temple, where possibly Baal was worshipped when King Solomon ruled in Jerusalem. In the hill fortress there are pedestals of steatitic rock decorated with carved figures of carnivorous birds—ravens and hawks—sacred to the gods, of which they are symbols. Fragments of bowls were found here ornamented with figures of men and of animals, also native implements, bits of Persian glass, ingot moulds, and small crucibles. It has been proved by careful measurement that the builders of the temple adopted a geometric plan, and that it was oriented for observation of northern hemisphere stars. A series of curves with radii of various lengths formed the encircling wall; the cubit or length of the fore arm was evidently the unit of measure, and the diameter of the great tower was exactly equal to the circumference of the small one. The radius or the diameter, or halves of them, and the curves of every wall can be found by multiplying the diameter of the building by the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, or by its square or cube.² The people who

¹ Address before Royal Geographical Society.

² We know that the ruins of several large forts similar to those at Zimbabwe exist. So recently as June 1894 Dr. Sauer, Captain

worked for gold and worshipped Baal at Zimbabwe were of Sabæan (South Arabian) or Phœnician origin. These two great maritime peoples of remote antiquity are the earliest maritime nations of whom there is a record. Sheba of Yemen was their emporium, and in the books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaias, as well as in Assyrian inscriptions at Nineveh, their widespread fame is chronicled. It was the Queen of the Sabæans who brought 120 talents of gold to Solomon, and it is probable that a portion, if not the whole, of this treasure was extracted from those old workings which now challenge curiosity

Sampson, and Mr. Bradley returned to Buluwayo from a long inspection in the south-east, in the course of which they discovered and explored a large ruined fortification, oval-shaped, with six layers of terraces, built of red granite, and distant only fifty miles from Buluwayo. The solid boulders are filled in with rubble, and there are the usual lines of ornamentation. The size of the structure is 200 feet in length, with a breadth of 300 feet and a height of 50 feet. Within a comparatively recent period it has been occupied by Arabs, whose huts, utensils, and arms remain. The finders tell us that near 'Fort Regina'—for so they have named the great ruin—they found a small Arab fort 100 yards away, evidently taken and burnt by natives. In round huts they found remains of charred pottery, smelted beads, silver, copper utensils, gold ornaments, with a large quantity of chains, beads and rings. Over fifteen ounces of splendid alluvial reef gold was discovered, as well as several nuggets weighing from one quarter to half an ounce, evidently traded from natives. 'The gold is of high quality from several different localities, but proving conclusively that there must be alluvial fields somewhere near, and richer quartz reefs than have yet been discovered.' We are further told that all old natives found there still remember when the Arabs were driven out by Umpezeni, a refugee Zulu chief who fled from the south up Sabi River with his women, men and cattle, and conquered the then great Mashona chief Marbo, under whose protection the Arabs were trading. Umpezeni was afterwards driven by Moselikatze over the Zambesi, where his people still remain.

and awake cupidity at the beginning of the twentieth century of the Christian era.

The Arabs knew the secret carefully concealed by the Sabæans, and were continuing their traffic on the East African coast when the Portuguese arrived ; but we naturally ask, How did the country pass back into savagery from a state of comparative civilisation? Where are the remains of the ruined cities? There are none, and it is utterly a mistake to speak of 'ruined cities of Mashonaland.' As Mr. Selous points out, there is no trace of any ancient town built of stone. The people lived near the great temples in huts plastered with mud, and the immense holes in the ground close at hand were dug to obtain clay for their pottery, and for the purpose of daubing their huts. Similar holes are invariably found at the side of Bantu villages at the present day. The blood of the ancient worshippers of Baal still runs in the veins of the people of the country. After a certain lapse of time the old heathenism gave way to the more modern spiritualism or worship of ancestors, the wall-building art was handed down and practised, gold mining was still carried on, but in a very modified manner, and then, as the Huns and northern barbarians came to the Roman Empire, so came Umzilegazi and the Zulus to the peaceful, industrious, and unwarlike Mashonas.

There really never was a highly-civilised people in South-Eastern Africa until the European races arrived. Gold mining went on without interruption until within one hundred years ago, and, putting

fanciful theories aside, it seems fairly well established that a small number of ancient traders who were not highly civilised became by degrees merged in the mass of the inhabitants.¹

Into the land of ancient mines and of rich quartz reefs entered stray hunters and explorers. Some of them knew, from various sources of information, that this was conjectured to be the Ophir of the ancients, and it certainly was the Monomotapa of the sixteenth century maps, 'rich in gold.' A German explorer, named Mauch, found old workings and modern reefs. Thomas Baines became a friend of Lo Bengula, and obtained a concession of the right of working for gold throughout Matabeleland; but all speculations and syndicates were vain until, as a result of negotiation, on the 30th day of October 1888 'at my royal kraal,' the king gave 'the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals to Charles Dunell Rudd of Kimberley, Rochfort Maguire, of London, and Francis Robert Thompson of Kimberley, for a payment of £100 per month, 1,000 breech-loading rifles with cartridges, and a gunboat for the Zambesi.' Subsequently this concession was united to another one connected with land ownership. Various financial manipulations

¹ On this Zimbabwe subject see Bent's *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*; also works of Dr. Slichter; F. C. Selous's 'Addresses to the Royal Geographical Society'; also *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*, by F. C. Selous; and *Matabeleland, the War, and our Position in South Africa*, by A. R. Colquhoun, first Administrator of Mashonaland. See also *Monomotapa* (Rhodesia) with ancient map, by A. Wilmot. The last work gives in full arguments and traditions on the subject.

have been adopted which it is unnecessary to detail; but on the 29th of October 1890 Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to grant a Royal Charter to the British South Africa Company, which now holds towards South and Central Africa a position somewhat similar to that held last century towards Hindostan by the great East India Company.

The march of the ten thousand, described in such a graphic manner by Xenophon, thrilled the ancient world with admiration. In modern times there has been nothing more deserving of a new Anabasis than the heroic progress of the pioneer force of the British South Africa Company through a roadless country, extending from British Bechuanaland across the Shashi, Nuanetzi and Lundi Rivers, to the great eastern plateau where now the town of Salisbury stands. The expedition comprised 700 carefully-selected Europeans, and 150 native labourers, all fully equipped with the best weapons of precision, accompanied by mountain guns and the electric light. They boldly set out under the command of Colonel Pennefather of the Inniskillen Dragoons, and had to march 1,000 miles through the country of a most warlike and powerful race of savages, and although a concession had been obtained, it seemed probable that the braves of Lo Bengula would rush with impetuosity to flesh their assegais in the bodies of the invaders.

General Methuen inspected the force at the end of June, and then Major Johnson's 200 pioneers, and four troops of the British South Africa Company's Police set out on their march along the new

track to the Tuli River. Here a letter was received from Lo Bengula, intimating that he would not have a road made, and that if the white impi advanced there would be trouble. At this time, when the coloured boys fled, an opportune contingent of 200 men arrived from Khama. These were invaluable as scouts, divided into five parties, each of which in turn rode first twenty miles or so along the back track of the pioneers, and then circled round the advancing expedition at a distance of from ten to twenty miles. This arrangement made it impossible for the enemy to attack without timely notice, and is one of those lessons which past events in South Africa seem to make it desirable that British generals should study.

B troop, under Captain Hoste, cut the first heavy section of the road, which, beyond the Umzingwan River, included seventeen miles of thick forest, with no water. On the 13th of July they met twenty elephants, but no one dared at any time to fire a shot at game. Every possible precaution was taken. Not only were scouts always out, but while half the men used their axes, the other half on horseback held their comrades' steeds in readiness, and carried their rifles. Every evening the camp was surrounded by a zeriba of thorn trees. When the exhausted men lay down to rest, night was made hideous by the roars of wild beasts. On one occasion Mr. Selous tells us a hyena uttered the most unearthly noise that he ever heard. The hideous serenade with which they were entertained stirred sad memories, and almost made him think

that an African banshee was forewarning disaster. On 18th July the whole column united, and parallel roads were formed, on which the two-mile procession of wagons advanced. On the 1st of August the Lundi River was reached, and then, winding through open forests, they arrived at the top of a plateau, whence they beheld a sight which gladdened their eyes. As Xenophon's ten thousand cried aloud in a transport of delight when they saw the sea, so did the hearts of the pioneers beat with pleasure when they beheld before them the open grassy downs in which the township of Victoria now stands. The real dangers of the journey were over when they passed through Providential Pass.

An ultimatum was now received from Lo Bengula, ordering Colonel Pennefather to retrace his steps 'unless he was strong enough to go on.' The Matabele king had delayed too long, and when he heard that the expedition had reached the open plateau of Mashonaland, knew that his chance of attack was gone. His position was an extremely difficult one, as during all this time the excitement of the people was extreme, and every preparation for war was made. It must be remembered that the old men knew everything about recent Kafir and Zulu wars, and that the memory of their signal defeat by the Boers in 1836 had never been forgotten. Two reasons, however, must be quoted to account for the Matabele nation refraining from war. One was the encampment of 500 Bechuanaland Police on the south-western border of Matabeleland, and the other the fact that the whereabouts of our

expedition was never known until it reached Mashonaland. On the 1st of September the source of the Umgezi River was reached, where Fort Charter was established, and on the 11th of September 1890 the British flag waved over Fort Salisbury.

Mashonaland was found to be a very sparsely-peopled country. Oft-recurring raids upon the unwarlike inhabitants had almost completely depopulated large tracts. As Mr. Selous¹ tells us, in consequence of the never-ceasing attacks of the fierce Matabele, the high plateau of Mashonaland, which at no distant date must have supported a large native population, once more became an almost uninhabited wilderness, as the remnants of the aboriginal tribes who escaped destruction at the hands of the Zulu invaders retreated into the broken country which encircles the plateau to the south and east. Had it not been for this constant destruction during the last eighty years there would be no room to-day for Europeans. As it is, however, the British South Africa Company has not only effected an occupation without wronging the natives, but has really been the means of saving them from continued and absolute destruction. What is the value of the country? No man knows it better than the writer we are now quoting, and he assures us that Mashonaland is no longer an interesting experiment, but a British Colony, in which it has been proved that European men and women can thrive. The gold districts are

¹ *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*, p. 345.

so rich that each of them will eventually bear a large population. 'The future of the vast fields of Mashonaland and Manica seems now so absolutely assured that it appears odd that doubts should ever have been entertained of their value. . . . Payable reefs have now been proved to a considerable depth in every district. All that is required is the capital necessary to erect quartz-crushing machinery, and carry on the development.'¹

The pioneers were disbanded, turned their swords into prospecting picks, and having obtained a kingdom, proceeded to search for gold in it. But the summer rains of 1891 were extremely heavy, and caused much sickness and suffering. There was neither adequate protection from the weather nor good food, and the consequences had to be suffered. In addition to the great old workings of the gold-seekers of the time of King Solomon, and their comparatively modern successors of 'Monomotapa' it was soon ascertained that in five districts new gold-bearing formations existed, covering an area 230 miles long by 120 broad, and it was very evident that the British Africa Company had entered into a country which was worth fighting for. Mr. A. R. Colquhoun was the first Administrator appointed, and his first difficulties were with the Portuguese. A rapid journey was made to Manika, where a treaty was entered into with the chief Umtasa, and we are told that on the way up not a vestige of present or past Portuguese occupation was perceptible.

¹ Selous's *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*, p. 351.

The Administrator also tells us that he passed through some of the most charming scenes imaginable, crossing numerous streams of water—clear and swiftly flowing over rocky beds—winding his way amongst perfect wooded mountain scenery, of which one could find its exact counterpart in favoured portions of either Scotland or Wales. When they met Umtasa they found the great chieftain attired in a pair of very old trousers, with a leopard skin slung over his shoulder and a cocked hat on his head. He was preceded by the court jester, who danced round him and cried aloud that his master was the lion who walked by night, before whom the Portuguese and Matabele trembled. After repeated assurances from Umtasa that he had not granted any previous concession, a treaty was signed between the Company and this potentate.

The Portuguese connected with the Mozambique Company now cried out that they were defrauded, as they claimed a large tract of country west of Massa Kessi, but although Umtasa admitted that he had accepted presents, he positively denied having given up any portion of his country. Baron de Rezende represented the King of Portugal, and protested against the presence of our British Africa Company both in Manika and Mashonaland. The fable of the dog in the manger was vividly illustrated, and to carry out this Portuguese policy an armed force of 300 men under Colonel D'Andrada was sent to punish Umtasa. Major Forbes, commanding the British Africa Company's Police, was obliged

to request the withdrawal of this force, and, upon a refusal being returned, proceeded with an escort of twelve men to Umtasa's kraal, and, meeting Baron de Rezende on the threshold, immediately arrested him. The natives rushed to arms, but were too late, as the fort had been already taken by a *coup de main*. Without losing a man, both the place and person of the chief were secured. Great excitement was aroused in Portugal, and, amidst the plaudits of thousands, bands of student volunteers were enrolled and sent off to Beira, at the mouth of the Pungwe River, to drive perfidious Britain from its usurped position. The only result was an attack on a border police post at Umtali, where the Portuguese force was easily repulsed by Captain Heyman and a small number of police. Negotiations were opened in Europe, and on the 11th June 1891 a convention was arranged fixing boundaries.

Gazaland is one of the grandest portions of South-Eastern Africa. Mr. Selous, who concluded a treaty with Matoko, paramount chief of the Mabudja, describes it as a magnificent country, possessing every requisite for agriculture or stock-farming. At about 5,000 feet above sea level, there are gentle undulating downs, intersected by streams of clear water, over which are scattered patches of forest. Green, well-watered valleys, interspersed with granite hills, and a cool, delightful, and healthy climate. A paradise for the downtrodden, struggling men and women in the gloomy, overcrowded countries of the north of Europe. But this territory is a mere

patch and section of the vast empire now thrown open for the enterprise of the people of Europe, including much more land than is comprised in France, Austria, and Germany combined. A commission of South African farmers, who visited the country to be able to judge of its nature and character, reported favourably on a tract of 40,000 square miles which they had examined. Everywhere they found traces of agriculture in former ages, but the peaceful cultivators had been killed or driven out, and it was necessary that the destroyer should be destroyed before the arts of peace were possible. This has now been done, and the incalculable advantage of doing so can really only be fully appreciated when we know the nature and character of the savage tyranny whose downfall we have to chronicle. The Company has from the first adopted the policy of encouraging emigration. Land is given to settlers on the payment of an annual quit-rent in advance of £3 per 3,000 acres, and 4s. for every additional 200 acres. No single grant can exceed 6,000 acres, and the grantee must occupy the land himself, or provide an approved substitute. The Mashonas, reduced in their number though they be, still cultivate large tracts of country. Descending from their rocky fastnesses into the fertile plains, they again produce large crops of cereals as well as rice, and become a happy, contented people, instead of the hunted victims of the most sanguinary tyrants who ever robbed and murdered in South Africa.

The road contract alone of the great pioneer

expedition cost the Chartered Company £89,000, and among its results were the formation of a serviceable road, 400 miles long, known as 'Selous Road,' and the erection of forts at Tuli, Victoria, Charter, and Salisbury, each of which was manned with a sufficient garrison. Hospitals were established, telegraph lines pushed forward, and arrangements made for the construction of the Cape Colonial Railway to Vryburg in Bechuanaland, afterwards extended to Mafeking, and thence to Buluwayo. The Barotse king had already granted a mineral and trading concession, which the Company acquired over a country which covers 225,000 square miles, and is reported to be very fertile and healthy, except in the neighbourhood of the Zambesi. This monarch sent two magnificent elephant tusks, each weighing 100 lbs., as a proof of his goodwill to the directors of the Company.

It is absolutely necessary to notice a fact of considerable significance which has had something to do with the perpetual hostility with which the operations of the Company have been regarded, and that is the earnest desire of the Transvaal Boers to obtain Matabeleland, and their natural disappointment at the success of the British Africa Company. For several years a section of the Transvaal farmers cherished a scheme for occupying Matabeleland and Mashonaland, in which they would have erected a new state. Indeed, overtures were several times made by them to Lo Bengula, which he never entertained; and both in 1890 and 1891 information was received that a force would leave the Transvaal

with the object of seizing a part of the south-eastern section of Matabeleland. Prompt measures, taken both by the High Commissioner and the Company, prevented this calamity. Representations were successfully made to President Kruger, and the police force was considerably increased. It will thus be seen that if the British Empire's forward policy in Africa be a wise one, it was absolutely necessary to be in advance of the Boers of the Transvaal in securing territories and rights in the countries which extend between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

The first Administrator of Mashonaland, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, who had accompanied the pioneer expedition, and who subsequently was the intermediary in obtaining large concessions, was compelled to resign in consequence of failing health, and was succeeded towards the end of 1891 by Dr. L. S. Jameson, whose experience in dealing with natives, and whose popularity with the community soon pointed him out as a *beau idéal* Administrator. It would be tiresome to enter into the details connected with the establishment of a new country. The wet season and the want of transport were soon seen to be the principal obstacles to progress. Numbers of good reefs were discovered, but how was it possible to transport heavy machinery to them? The Beira line was therefore undertaken, as a very narrow gauge railway, to take goods from an excellent port at the mouth of the Pungwe River through the fly country to Salisbury. This will be extended still further, so that the programme

of the Chartered Company is to have a cheap railway from Beira to Buluwayo, and an extension of the Cape Colonial line from Mafeking *via* Tati to the same point. The distinction between Mashonaland, with Salisbury as its principal town, and Matabeleland, where the new town of Buluwayo has been established, is now practically ended, and the country is known under one title as 'Rhodesia,' which, although large, is only a province or section of the immense territories of the Company stretching northward to the great lakes.

Missions to various chiefs north of the Zambesi have been successfully despatched from time to time, and reports concerning new kingdoms placed under our sphere of influence are extremely interesting. Mr. Joseph Thomson, of Masailand fame, states that in course of performing his duty to the Company he travelled a distance of 1,250 miles—from Katakota to Lake Nyassa—and of this distance over 900 miles represented entirely new country. Treaties concluded with various chiefs referred almost exclusively to the Loangwa Kafue Plateau, which practically includes an area of about 40,000 square miles, extending between latitudes 12° and 15° S., and longitudes 28° and 31° E. The true value of this country lies in its productiveness, as more than three-fourths of its territory consists of capital agricultural and pastoral land. 'Indeed,' we are told, 'for such an extent of country, its high average value is quite exceptional for Africa, so much of which is either hopelessly swampy or as hopelessly arid and sterile. Neither the one nor the other

of these drawbacks prevails in even a minor degree over the whole of these favoured uplands. . . . A glance at the map will show the remarkable number of perennial streams and rivers which water this favoured region.' Here are thousands of square miles fit for the planter, and over the cool uplands countless herds of cattle and flocks of sheep could be successfully reared. The climate is deliciously cool and exceptionally healthy. As the geology of this region is closely identical with that of Mashonaland, it is not surprising that Mr. Thomson should say that it seemed to him the promise of gold was most marked. What a charming part of the world to live in ! Standing on a crest of the highest ridge, looking westward, you see mapped out before you the plateau or basin of Milangi, with its rolling hills of grassy sward, its clearly-defined belts of dark green forest, and its numerous ravines or rivulets all shaping their course towards the principal valley of the plateau, through which the Lutshenga, the main stream, flows. Still looking towards the west, there are on the right the peaks of the mountains rising directly from the valley of the Lutshenga, which runs parallel with its southern base. In the distance, across the tableland, is the isolated Chambi range, while to the front and on the left rolling grassy hills, capped with rugged cliffs of granite, encircle the plateau.¹ The British South Africa Company opens this country to the over-

¹ See the excellent description of this country from the pen of Mr. Thomson, published in the Report of the British South Africa Company for 1889-92. Of course it must be admitted that fever

populated countries of the old world, and this alone should be enough to establish its claim to gratitude and recognition. There is abundance of room both for the present inhabitants and the new-comers, and anything more absurd than the contention that we are injuring native interests it is impossible to conceive. No doubt Divine Providence is now opening up vast regions where new homes will yet be found for thousands. Certain it is but for the fact that gold exists extensively in Matabeleland, the Mashonas would continue downtrodden, plundered and massacred, while the introduction of Christianity among the fierce Zulus and neighbouring savage nations would remain impossible.

The work of the British South Africa Company has added about 750,000 square miles to the British Empire, and laid the foundation of a valuable possession. To use their own words, their 'policy has been to secure the high tableland which extends throughout the centre of South Africa from the Karoo Desert northwards, for it is here that a white population can thrive, and temperate, as well as many tropical, plants can be grown.' This tableland extends through Matabeleland, and beyond the Zambesi up to the confines of the Congo Free State. Treaties have been made with Gunyunhama, who claimed to divide with Lo Bengula all the country between the Zambesi and the Vaal, and also with the chief of the Barotse, whose territory extends to the Portu-

exists more or less in Southern Africa N. of 30° S. latitude. Low-lying districts, valleys, and the low-lying lands on the east coast are peculiarly subject to malarial fever.

guese province of Angola. The African Lakes Company has been taken over, and the development of Nyassaland is now proceeding.¹

For some time prior to July 14th 1893 more than 5,000 Matabeles had been raiding in the Victoria District of the Chartered Company's territory, killing Mashonas in the employ of Europeans under the eyes of their masters, and also burning huts and stores, as well as stealing cattle on farms occupied by Europeans. The Administrator hastened from Salisbury to Victoria, and at once sent for the head Indunas of the Matabele Impi, who were most insolent. They were then told by Dr. Jameson that he would drive them out if they had not commenced to go within one hour. One hour and forty minutes were then actually allowed to transpire, and then Captain Lendy, R.A.,² magistrate of the Victoria District, received instructions to follow the Impi with thirty-eight mounted men, and if they had not then

¹ Coffee is the principal and most hopeful product of Nyassaland. Great and successful efforts have been made to put down the slave trade in these regions. Of course it must be well understood that fever prevails more or less in all the tropical and semi-tropical countries of South-Eastern Africa.

² Anything more absurd or unjust than the charges made against the British authorities in South Africa can scarcely be imagined. A host of witnesses unexceptionable in character prove this. For instance, Father Barthelemy, S.J., was living at this time at Victoria, was perfectly impartial, and utterly unconnected with any schemes of aggrandisement. He was one of those Europeans whose counsel was asked, and he testifies that, so far from Captain Lendy being sanguinary, his fault was that he was rather too much inclined to leniency. Nothing was done either cruelly or unjustly; on the contrary, the only possible course was pursued for the safety of the people under the Government and the honour of the nation it represented.

commenced a retreat to fire upon them. This command was absolutely required by the circumstances. The party went forth, and found the Matabeles persistently continuing their outrages, by besieging Magomela's kraal, distant only four miles from Victoria. As soon as the Matabele saw the advanced guard of the mounted troop they opened fire, and this was of course returned, and with such effect that the enemy fled, and forty of them were killed, including the most insolent of the Indunas. The main body of the Matabele then thought fit to cross the border, and Dr. Jameson wired to Lo Bengula, demanding the infliction of punishment on the Indunas, and compensation for damages. He also informed the king that the white people could not give up Mashona women and children to be slaughtered when they had claimed their protection, but if they had done wrong they could be punished on conviction before a magistrate. The king's reply at first was pacific, but when his people reported the skirmish then his tone changed, and he demanded the unconditional surrender of Mashona men, women and children. These he evidently looked upon as his property, to be killed or placed in slavery. Of course the High Commissioner could not accede, and hence the war.

Everyone acquainted with the history and character of the Matabele warriors knew well that if we had allowed them to kill Mashonas the turn of Europeans would have come next. The people who had settled in the country under the Queen's Charter were entitled to protection, and they, as well, indeed,

as the Government, were perfectly aware that the time had now come for vigorous and instantaneous action. Nothing, however, should or could be done without the sanction of the Imperial Government. Defence columns were organised, 750 horses purchased, and the best routes into Matabeleland surveyed. On the 25th of September two men of Captain White's patrol were fired on near the border. From native intelligence, corroborated by Mr. Colenbrander's reports, it was learned that the Matabele were advancing in great force in two divisions, and on the 5th of October a patrol of the Imperial force, styled the British Bechuanaland Police, was fired on in the Protectorate, south of the Shashi River. Under these circumstances, the High Commissioner felt it to be his duty to telegraph his sanction of a general forward movement into Matabeleland.

The force collected included the Salisbury column, under Major Forbes, of 269 Europeans, 106 armed coolies and Cape-boys, 258 horses, 2 Maxim guns, 1 'Nordenfeldt,' 1 'Gardner,' and 18 wagons; the Victoria column, under Major Alan Wilson, of 397 Europeans, 60 armed Cape-boys, 272 horses, 3 Maxims, 1 'Hotchkiss,' 1 seven-pounder, also sky-rockets, etc., 330,000 rounds of ammunition for Martini and machine guns, and 1,800 shells of all sorts; Major Raaff's rangers of 235 men and 191 horses, with 70,000 rounds of Martini. The officers and men of the three columns, including armed natives, numbered 1,067. One thousand men, it may be said, went forth to conquer one of the most sanguinary and powerful people of the southern

portion of the continent, and did it. Did it in an extraordinarily short space of time, as they acted under skilful officers, with thorough knowledge both of the people and of the country. It must be added that this force was subsequently augmented on its march by a native contingent of Mashonas over 1,200 strong, but these, although useful as scouts and in clearing the bush, were not of much account in actual fighting. His Honour the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, undertook personal superintendence and supreme control of the advance on Buluwayo, and of the operations against the Matabele. Major Sir John Willoughby, Baronet, was military adviser, and Major P. W. Forbes commander of the Company's forces.

As soon as the British force commenced to advance, seven Matabele regiments which had taken the field began to retreat on the Changani River. Two powerful Makalaka chiefs sent propitiatory presents, and it thus became evident that decisive and rapid action had a most excellent effect. Carefulness is always shown by good leaders, who never undervalue the enemy, nor give him an unnecessary opportunity. The native contingents were distributed in front and rear, as well as on both flanks, to a radius of five or six miles, but when the columns got into touch with the retreating Matabele regiments European scouts had to be depended on, as our native allies showed a great disinclination to go much in advance. The Shashi River was the rubicon of the expedition, and after crossing it Mashonaland was left behind, and the invasion of Matabeleland

commenced. Two miles beyond the Umgezi River, bush country (chiefly Magondi Forest) ended, and a high plateau with open country was reached. On the 15th of October the scouts were attacked by 2,000 Matabele, who subsequently retired and allowed a considerable number of cattle to be captured. The chief guide of the expedition, named Manyezi, belonged to a portion of the Matabele which had been practically annihilated by Lo Bengula. Revenge, therefore, incited him to lead destroying bands against his people's destroyer.

On the 21st of October Dr. Jameson and Major Willoughby, accompanied by Major Wilson with 100 mounted men and two Maxims, proceeded to attack the great kraal of the Insukamini Regiment, which was situated on a rising and fairly open ground half a mile from the Gwelo River. The Insuka Regiment, close at hand, looking on from the thick bush, was afraid to attack, and the kraal itself was undefended. So all that could be done was to burn the huts and return to the main column. A forest was then penetrated, in which the Matabele had intended to make an attack ; but, fortunately, they had received wrong information about our line of march, and therefore did not make the attempt. Sixty Mashona women were soon afterwards recaptured, and about 1,000 head of cattle and a large number of sheep and goats secured. At last, between two tributaries of the Changani River, the enemy attacked by opening a continuous and steady fire on all sides with Martini rifles and muzzle-loaders. The machine guns were brought into play,

and, unfortunately, a number of the native contingent in running away got into their fire and were killed. The enemy's first attack was chiefly directed against the right and rear of the Salisbury laager and rear faces of the Victoria laager. The Matabele were so near that their shouts of encouragement to each other could be plainly heard, and in some instances they advanced within eighty yards of the entrenchments. For twenty minutes the machine guns let havoc loose among them, and the bravest of the brave savages of Lo Bengula's army were forced to retire. Two troops then advanced to clear the bush under Captains Heany and Spreckley, but were forced to retire, and by their presence in the field prevented the Maxims firing on masses of the enemy. Then came the second attack, when daylight rendered it more difficult, and previous repulses made it less determined. At this time Matabele reinforcements collected together in a large body on an eminence, which was immediately shelled by a seven-pounder gun. The second shell caused the enemy to scatter, upon which Captains Fitzgerald and Bastard swept the ground with their mounted men. The enemy were driven back across the stream, and a 'Hotchkiss' gun brought to bear on them did good execution. The Maxims and a seven-pounder were now advanced, and poured shell into the enemy; and then the battle was completely over, and the Matabele nation had to recognise a conqueror. Six thousand of their best troops were in the engagement, and out of that number 600 were killed. Our losses comprised twenty-two killed and thirty-eight

wounded. They had intended to attack at 10 p.m., but postponed the movement until four in the morning, on account of three rockets being sent up at 8 p.m. to acquaint a belated patrol with the neighbourhood of the camp. These excited their amazement and alarm at the strange power of the European magicians, and frightened them into a delay which did not improve their chances of success.

Various attacks of the enemy *en route* were repulsed. Captain Williams unfortunately lost his life by his horse bolting into the ranks of the enemy. Skirmishes and cattle captures took place; and at last, as the Chartered Company's forces neared Buluwayo, everything pointed to a decisive engagement being close at hand. It came at last, very early in the afternoon of the 31st October, when the best regiments of the Matabele hurled themselves against the entrenched or laagered columns. The enemy were brave, but would have fared better if they had attacked us on the march, and trusted to their assegais shortened and used as stabbing swords rather than to weapons with which comparatively few of them were acquainted. The main attack was made by the famous Umbezu and Ingubu cohorts, which occupied a front of about three-quarters of a mile. Major Willoughby declares that he could not but admire the pluck of these men, 'which was simply splendid,' and he doubts whether any European troops would have stood as long as they did the terrific and well-directed fire of the most deadly weapons of destruction yet invented. An

hour of carnage ensued, during which the machine-guns played upon the enemy, and then they began to retreat after a loss of nearly 1,000 killed and wounded. The latter were borne from the field by the Matabele, who made good their retreat by taking advantage of the bushy country in the neighbourhood. The casualties on the side of the Chartered Company's forces were strangely small, comprising only four killed and a few wounded, bearing testimony to the enormous advantages of an entrenched position defended by artillery. It must be admitted that the Matabele were badly commanded throughout. The king's orders were to attack the invaders on the march, and not when laagered; and on the occasion of this last and greatest battle their deficiency in intelligence was as great as their want of tactical skill. They absolutely did not know that their enemy was laagered, and believed that with an overwhelming force they could easily succeed in mastering a handful of men, and carry them off as slaves.

On the 3rd of November, at 7.30 a.m., a loud report rent the air, and huge columns of smoke were observed to rise from Buluwayo, where 80,000 rounds of Martini-Henry ammunition and 2,500 pounds of gunpowder were blown up by the panic-stricken inhabitants, from whom their king had fled, and who knew that the dreaded white magicians were close at hand. The machine guns were now brought to bear upon the bush, which was shelled, and shortly afterwards the place of Lo Bengula, deserted and in flames, was entered by the conquering expedition.

This last and most unfortunate ruler of the Matabele was now a wretched fugitive flying to the northward under the protection of the scattered remnants of his army. The chief Gumbo had gone south with 4,000 men to oppose Colonel Goold Adams, who commanded the British Bechuanaland Police. These powerful reinforcements were detained on the march, and had to repel a sharp attack made by the Matabele forces sent to intercept them. On this occasion (2nd November) the column of Colonel Goold Adams was partially laagered, but some of the wagons were inspanned ready to start when the Matabele charged in great numbers, and succeeded in capturing a wagon, which they burnt. Mr. Selous, who was acting as guide, galloped back in advance of a mounted force sent to protect the wagons, and, while engaging the enemy, was slightly wounded. All the other wagons succeeded in reaching the laager, and, after a sharp, short contest, the enemy was routed and pursued for some distance, losing about 100 men. Two Europeans were killed and five wounded. Two days afterwards Khama with all his natives turned back on the plea that he feared that small-pox, then prevalent in the district, would spread among his men. In this manner the reinforcements were reduced to 400 men when they reached Buluwayo.

Messages were sent to the king, but the ambassadors were roughly treated, and narrowly escaped with their lives. They were threatened and prodded with assegais while discussions proceeded as to whether they should be maimed or killed. Some

of the Indunas and old men had to protect them from the ferocious Matabele youths, who still cried out for war. The king desired to surrender, and said so, but nothing was done, although it subsequently transpired that he sent messengers with money, which was stolen by two men of the police, who were afterwards discovered and punished.

For the speedy pacification of the country a force was at once despatched, consisting of 300 mounted men with four Maxims and one 7-pounder, under the command of Major Forbes and Captain Raaff, C.M.G. These officers lost no time in starting, and hoped by two night marches and halting during the day to arrive unexpectedly at the place where the king was supposed to be—about forty-two miles from Buluwayo. Unfortunately, only three days' supplies were taken, which caused the patrol to turn back when near their destination, and entailed protracted operations which extended over a month. If it had gone smartly on, without delay or hesitation, the king would have been found in fairly open country, twenty-four miles down the Buby River, and the subsequent march to the Changani through thick bush country avoided. At this time the Umbezu Regiment was in the bush waiting for an opportunity to surrender, but numbers of turbulent Matabele still ranged the country, thirty of whom drove the native contingent men in, and, within full sight of the camp, boldly seized on 1,000 cattle. Most of these were recaptured, and several of the raiders shot. New orders were now issued for the patrol to march on Shiloh, where reinforcements and

wagons with supplies would meet them. A re-arranged force left that place on the 25th of November, consisting of 165 mounted and 105 dismounted men, four Maxims, a 'Hotchkiss' gun, and five wagons carrying reserves of ammunition. The balance of the force, consisting of 280 men, with the 7-pounder, returned to Buluwayo. Heavy rains came on, and so impeded the progress of the patrol that Major Forbes subdivided his force, and determined to push on without wagons. Up to the 2nd of December no incident of any importance occurred, and from intelligence received from various sources it was believed that the king had only a few men with him. On the next day the hut of the king was captured, from which he had only fled that morning. Major Wilson and eighteen men were immediately sent forward along the spoor to reconnoitre, and they were instructed to return by sundown. Unfortunately large numbers of broken regiments had massed together at this point, and a portion of our divided force, which had an inadequate supply of ammunition, fell victims. Major Wilson sent for reinforcements, but the main body was itself in terrible straits, and could only send twenty men. Major Wilson went up to the king's wagon, from which he had fled on horseback, and while slowly retreating found himself surrounded by an overwhelming force of Matabele warriors. Here were thirty-four officers and men with hundreds of fierce savages howling for their blood, and in the annals of no nation can we find a finer example of steady courage and devotion than was exhibited on

this occasion. It was while retreating that Burnham, Ingram, and Gooding were sent off to the main body for reinforcements. Finding themselves completely surrounded, Major Wilson's party formed a ring of their horses, and made their last stand on the king's wagon spoor. There they fought for hours, until their ammunition was expended, while the dead bodies of their horses were formed into barricades. Twice were the enemy driven off by these heroes, but here endurance and courage were in vain. The last cartridge was at last expended, and then—but not till then—did the Matabele warriors advance and dare to stab their gallant opponents to death. Each of the party killed at least ten of the enemy, so that literally a fence of corpses piled one upon the other lay around. Although the bodies of the white men were stripped they were not mutilated, the natives being so struck with admiration at the manner in which they had not only fought but died. Without a struggle or a murmur they submitted to their doom, tenderly assisting their companions to the last—some of the men even stripping themselves of their shirts to make bandages for the wounded.

The main body of the patrol under Major Forbes was placed in terrible difficulties, in the midst of heavy rains, with swollen rivers to cross, and an overwhelming force of the enemy around them. Two mounted messengers were sent to Dr. Jameson at Buluwayo, to report events and apply for assistance. A large force was immediately sent out, which the Administrator himself accompanied, and strong patrols were despatched in various directions. In a

few days' time the relief column, with Mr. Sélous, joined the retreating party under Major Forbes, and found that the men had suffered severe hardships, having been compelled to eat their own horses, but, nevertheless, with the exception of five wounded men, were all doing well and able to ride. Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Sawyer, military secretary to the High Commissioner, both accompanied the relief party.

The Matabele now commenced to come in and make submission. By the end of December 1893 large numbers of natives, including many of the principal Indunas, had not only declared in favour of the new Government, but had settled down on their lands, and, turning their swords into ploughshares, commenced to cultivate them. No fewer than 10,000 assegais, and more than 1,000 guns and rifles, were given up. The new rule was a blessed one of peace and safety as compared with the former sanguinary tyranny, under which neither life nor property was at any time safe. Where is the native tribe, long under the British flag in Southern Africa, which, if it had its choice, would go back to the murders and robberies of the ancient régime, where witchcraft was religion and the chief's will law? The Mashonas are no longer treated more cruelly than the beasts of the field, and, under a government where security of life and property exists, come down from their fastnesses and cultivate the fruitful fields so long left desolate. Enormous tracts of excellent country, great mines of wealth, the treasures of nature, are opened up to the world, and through the golden gates of mineral discovery,

civilisation, peace and prosperity now enter a land which was constantly the scene of bloodshed and superstition.

The last of the Matabele kings must have felt terribly the awful reverse of fortune which reduced him from supreme power to that of a hunted fugitive. It was difficult to open up communications with Lo Bengula, for although Messrs. Tainton, Riley, and Dawson volunteered to go, no Indunas could be found willing to accompany them. They were all afraid to face the man whose word had meant life or death. The principal Matabele leaders came in one after another and surrendered. At last news arrived from Mjan, giving full particulars of the death of the king at a place within forty miles of the Zambesi. One man only, the Induna Bosumidan, was present when this formerly powerful ruler breathed his last, and it is very possible that his only companion put him to death. Like Cato he may have asked his friend to kill him, but whether suicide or murder was the cause remains a mystery. Thus passed away the last of the sanguinary tyrants, whose system of rule had hitherto prevented the possibility of Christianity and of civilisation entering Matabeleland. An agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the British South Africa Company relative to Matabele and Mashonaland was signed on the 23rd of May 1894, laying down regulations for the government of the country under the chief control of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa.

Many facts of history, like many oil paintings,

require to be looked at from some distance in order to be seen aright. A time is not far distant when Englishmen will feel surprised at the strange calumnies which accompanied the first years of the British Chartered Company's efforts and rule in Southern Africa. Mr. Rhodes and those associated with him will eventually receive that meed of praise and gratitude which their services merit. A great page in the history of British enterprise is in the meantime being written in the development of the resources of Rhodesia and the expansion of the empire through Central Africa to Egypt.

The Cape Colony has recently received a large addition to its territory by the annexation of Pondoland in 1894 and of British Bechuanaland in 1895. The latter territory would have been handed over to the South African Republic in 1883 but for the exertions of Sir Hercules Robinson. In that case custom-houses would have blocked British trade to the interior, and the Transvaal would have become the premier State of Southern Africa. Swaziland was subsequently handed over to the South African Republic, as it was in reality geographically a portion of that State.

In the South African Republic educated Hollanders were employed to assist the Government, the franchise was refused to all "uitlanders," no matter how largely they might contribute to the finances of the State by means of taxation, and these very people thus deprived of the rights of citizens were called upon to bear the burdens of citizens and go forth to fight for the Republic

against native insurgents. So grievously unjust was this exaction that the people of Johannesburg made preparations to resist it, and a civil war would have broken out had not Sir Henry Loch gone to Pretoria armed with a letter formerly written by the authorities of the South African Republic promising not to demand military service from British subjects. The Republic was then compelled to withdraw the obnoxious order. Immense mineral developments went on at Johannesburg, and the gold yield of the State reached the amount of £10,000,000 sterling per annum.

The map of South Africa shows a country so devoid of navigable rivers that railways are evidently essential for means of internal communication. The great trunk line from the Cape Colony *via* Mafeking was extended to Buluwayo at a cost of £1,500,000, which was easily raised, by means of a new share issue, by the British South Africa Company. The Natal lines stretched to Johannesburg; Delagoa Bay and Capetown were united by the iron road; while an Act was passed during 1895, in the Parliament of the Cape Colony, providing for the construction, partly by subsidy, of railways from Mossel Bay *via* Oudtshoorn to a point on the Graaffreinet line at Klipplaat, from Graaffreinet to Middelburg Road on the main "Midland" line, and from Somerset East *via* Cookhouse, Bedford, Fort Beaufort and Alice, to King Williamstown.

CHAPTER XI

Events in the Cape Colony—The Afrikaner Bond—Krugerism and the Disabilities of Uitlanders—Vain Agitation for Reform—The Raid and its Consequences—Intervention of the Imperial Power—The Ultimatum—The War.

IN the Cape Colony a bad fiscal policy arising from Bond domination, and progress based upon the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and gold in the Transvaal, are recognisable as leading historical features. The government of Mr. Rhodes in the Cape Colony came to a sudden end at the close of the year 1895 in consequence of his connection with the Raid, and Sir Gordon Sprigg became Premier. The party of progress, whose chief tenet was the necessity of retaining the British Imperial rule intact throughout Southern Africa, subsequently made a great effort to obtain a redistribution of seats by means of which a majority in the House of Assembly could be secured. Their efforts, however, were abortive, and at the general election a majority of persons allied either really or nominally to 'the Bond' was returned to the Lower House. In the Legislative Councils the Progressives retained a majority. As a result Mr. Schreiner obtained the reins of power in 1898, and retained office until after the war had commenced. He found it necessary for the protection of the people of Dutch extraction in the

Colony to make terms with Her Majesty's Government, under which a 'Treason Bill' was framed virtually granting amnesty to the rank and file of those in the Cape Colony who had been engaged in rebellion. Mr. Merriman (Treasurer), Mr. Sauer (Commissioner of Crown Lands), and Mr. Te Water (without portfolio) were the ministers who dissented. Resignation became necessary, and by means of the support of Mr. Schreiner and his friends the new ministry, under Sir Gordon Sprigg, was able during the session of 1900 to pass the Treason Bill contrary to the wishes of the majority of persons of Dutch extraction, and with the consent obtained with some difficulty from Progressives who believed that sterner measures should have been adopted.

For the purpose of considering the nature and character of politics among that large body of people in Southern Africa who style themselves Afrikanders (persons broadly of Dutch extraction), it is necessary to consider the origin, progress, and opinions of the Bond. This is also desirable for the purpose of enabling us to form a just conclusion on the subject of the causes of the war and rebellion of 1899.

The idea of "Africa for the Afrikanders," or a 'Natie' dominated by people of Dutch extraction, is one of old growth. The love of independence for themselves and slavery for the coloured races animated the progress of the Voortrekkers, and their discontents against the British Government were carried with them to the territories between the Vaal and the Limpopo Rivers. But in the meantime young Afrikanderism arose, encouraged

by the Majuba defeat, and still more by the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881. The propaganda of the movement unmistakably pointed to the creation of an all-embracing South African Republic. So far back as the year 1882 we find Mr. Reitz admitting that the ultimate object aimed at was the overthrow of the British power and the expulsion of the British flag from South Africa,¹ and a pamphlet published in Dutch in the year 1881,² comprising leading articles published in *De Patriot*, leaves no room whatever for doubt that a conspiracy, if such a term can be applied to a plan openly boasted of, existed to establish in South Africa an Afrikaner nation or confederation totally independent of Great Britain.

A coalition of farmers established originally principally for agricultural purposes became in the hands of Mr. Hofmeyr a political association of great power and importance. The Bond dominated Cape politics, made and overturned ministries, while it succeeded in perpetuating a narrow restrictive policy in which all excise duties were taken off Cape brandy, while heavy customs rates were levied on imported flour and grain. This powerful institution existed not merely in the Cape Colony,

¹ See letter from Mr. Theo. Schreiner, dated 31st October 1899, published in the *Cape Times*.

² *De Transvaalsche Aorlog* (the Transvaal War—a translation was published at the Journal Office, Grahamstown, in February 1900). See on this subject also *Reminiscences of Dr. J. P. Jorissen*, where he says, 'It is for you to say who shall reign in South Africa—the Afrikaner or the few tyrants from "Downing Street,"' p. 101. See also Van Aardt's *Paul Kruger and the Rise of the South African Republic*:—"Paul Kruger was present, and heartily endorsed a speech in 1884, when it was said, "We hope that the South African flag shall wave from Table Bay to the Zambesi,"' p. 419.

but in the Orange Free State and South African Republic. In the last-named state the despotism of Krugerism prevented free trade with the Cape Colony, and preferred Hollanders to colonial Dutchmen; nevertheless, the Bond supported the rule of this despot, and evidently looked forward to the Transvaal effecting eventually the object all had in view—destruction of British domination in Southern Africa.

As a leading organ of public opinion¹ declared, the curse of South African policy was the diabolical ingenuity of the Bond in getting its purposes effected by the instrumentality of politicians who had no natural sympathy with it. Both Sir Gordon Sprigg and Mr. Rhodes were opportunists. The latter, with a great object in view, felt no scruple in compromising with the Bond in order to advance nearer to his goal. The Bond was far too astute not to grant £30,000 per annum to the British Navy from the Cape Treasury, and continually protested its loyalty to the British Crown in a very loud-voiced manner. At the same time such men as Mr. Cron Wright² expressed what was universally felt to be the truth in the statement that the Afrikaner Bond was anti-English in its aims, and that the vast majority of its members were ignorant, and governed almost entirely by emotion instead of by reason. So far as the coloured races are concerned, the Bond really shared the views expressed in the Grondwet (Constitution)

¹ *The Cape Times*.

² "Political Ethics and Political Organisation," a paper read to the Farmers' Association at Cradock on October 7th, 1893, by Mr. Cron Wright, who afterwards became Mr. Cron Wright Schreiner, and seemed at his marriage to take a vow of eternal hatred to Mr. Rhodes and the Progressive party.

of the South African Republic, declaring that no equality of black and white in Church and State will be tolerated. The lack of Dutch Reformed missionary enterprise among the native races for more than two hundred years is strong evidence that these views have been always held.

The Bondsmen of the Cape Colony felt that they were of one blood with the people of Dutch extraction throughout all Southern Africa, including specially the Transvaal and Free State. Feeling this their sympathies went out to Krugerism, and remained persistently in alliance with it. Let us now consider the nature and character of South African Republican rule, and the complaints of the Uitlanders against it.

When the Royal Commission in 1881 fixed the terms of the Convention which secured the retrocession of the Transvaal, it was distinctly understood that equal political rights would be granted under the Republic to all British subjects. So clear was this understanding that Sir Henry De Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, has distinctly declared that if Sir J. H. Brand and himself had been aware that this agreement would be violated they would rather have allowed the war to go on than be parties to the contract entered into.¹ In 1881 residence for the period of a year was only necessary in order that a white man should gain the franchise. In 1882 it was lengthened to two years, and later to nine years, while subsequently it was made fourteen years, and

¹ See letter from Sir Henry De Villiers published in Blue Book presented to both Houses of Parliament.

even then depended on a certificate from the Field Cornet in whose ward the voter lived. In the case of the dynamite concession an iniquitously heavy tax, made more burdensome by extensive bribes to the President and other officials, was levied upon the gold industry. The Netherlands Railway Company existed for the profit of Hollander monopolists, and as a specimen of the manner in which the business was conducted it may be stated that the exorbitant rates charged for conveying coal from the collieries to the mines of Johannesburg were so crushing that the directors in Amsterdam in their report stated that the Rand coal carriage paid for the whole system's working expenses, including the lines to Natal, the Free State, and Portuguese borders. Then there was the illicit liquor trade, in which a good law became a dead letter through continuous successful bribery, and the vilest poison was sold to the unfortunate natives, ruining them body and soul, and in this destruction seriously interfering with the labour market, on which the only industry of the country, that of gold mining, depended. So far back as 1880-1 a powder factory was established, and the task of arming the state efficiently was commenced.

The National Union, established in 1892, endeavoured in vain to obtain constitutional reforms and fair play. Meetings were attended by thousands, and these public movements, as well as a petition signed by thirteen thousand, were treated with contempt. At last the position became desperate, and the capitalists were reproached for not lending their

assistance. There was no idea of substituting the British flag for that of the Republic. The people felt profoundly that they were entitled to be governed with some semblance of decency and fair play. A corrupt oligarchy, or in other words "Krugerism," blocked the way, and thinking that a desperate disease required a desperate remedy, a few financiers, headed by Mr. Rhodes, concerted a scheme for suddenly, and with violence, overturning the Pretorian Government. As a means to this end Rhodesian irregular forces were massed at Pitsani, and in the last days of 1895 the world was electrified by the intelligence that under the direction of Dr. Jameson seven hundred men, with a few pieces of artillery, had boldly advanced into Transvaal territory, with the object of delivering the people of Johannesburg from bondage. A plebiscite was then to be taken, and a Republican Government worthy of the name established.

Mr. Kruger knew very well that the tortoise was to put out its head, and he carefully waited until it did so before striking. Under the military direction of Major Willoughby the brave lads who formed the expedition advanced to the neighbourhood of Johannesburg, when by means of a ruse worthy of Krugerism they were led into a trap. A letter ostensibly from their friends directed them to proceed in a certain direction. Willoughby protested, but Jameson was firm, and declared it necessary to obey instructions. A brave fight was continued until further resistance became vain, and then a treaty signed by General Cronje gave their lives

to every member of the revolutionary band.¹ *Væ victis!* Subsequently that was given "magnanimously" and as a favour, which undoubtedly had to be conceded as a right, and the money, not the lives of the so-called conspirators was taken. Immense sums were wrung from the men of the "Reform Committee" first in prison, where they had to pay heavily for even the necessities of life, and subsequently when condemned to extortionate fines for committing the heinous crime of endeavouring to throw off the yoke of one of the most corrupt and arbitrary oligarchies whose rule ever covered the name of Republic with disgrace.

During the course of events complications were inevitable. Germany had long cast a longing eye on Transvaal trade, and hoped by landing marines at Delagoa Bay to make a demonstration which would lead to her obtaining a controlling influence in the South African Republic. This move on the political chess-board was met by the checkmate of a flying squadron being prepared in England ready at once to bombard German ports and destroy both their fleet and commerce. After this period the Kaiser ceased to trouble, and Britain, weary of continental interference, was comparatively at rest.

The people of Johannesburg were really not responsible for the Raid, which was merely the work of a few financiers, who at the last moment induced a small number of well-meaning but unwise citizens

¹ See on the subject of the Raid the valuable evidence adduced before a Select Committee of the House of Commons; also the report of the Cape House of Assembly; Garrett and Edwards' valuable story of the Raid; and Wilmot's *History of our own Times in South Africa*, vol. iii.

to join their ranks. They paid severe penalties for their want of judgment, and the Uitlanders who had been chastised with whips were now scourged with scorpions.

It is very significant that, encouraged by success, the doom of Imperialism was now pronounced by the Bond, and immense encouragement afforded to that war of independence which had now become imminent. Arms poured into the Republics in ever-increasing streams. It must be remembered that preparations had been going on long before the Raid, but now they were increased in a rapid and feverish manner. Every high-placed politician in the Transvaal now knew what was at hand. So far back as 1898 the forts in Pretoria and Johannesburg had closed their doors against any but those who were engaged in the Transvaal service, and now great guns, vast stores of food and ammunition, as well as military mercenaries of experience and ability, were added to the offensive forces of the Republic. Mr. Reitz¹ dramatically cried out (*Century of Wrong*): "Once more in the annals of our blood-stained history has the day dawned when we are forced to grasp our weapons in order to resume the struggle for liberty and existence, entrusting our national cause to that Providence which has guided our people throughout South Africa in so miraculous a way. The struggle of now almost a century, which began when a foreign rule was forced upon the people of the Cape of Good Hope, hastens to an end ; we are approach-

¹ Mr. Reitz is a thoroughly representative Afrikaner in all points of view. Formerly a judge, and subsequently President of the Orange Free State, he became afterwards Secretary of State in the South African Republic.

ing the last act in that great drama which is so momentous for all South Africa. . . . The hour has struck which will decide whether South Africa in jealously guarding its liberty will enter on a new phase of its history, or whether we shall be exterminated in the deadly struggle for liberty, which we have prized above all earthly treasures, and whether South Africa will be dominated by capitalists without conscience acting in the name and under the protection of an unjust and hated Government seven thousand miles away."

The rule in Pretoria can be aptly styled "Krugerism." Mr. Kruger, as President, fitly represented the mass of the people of Dutch extraction by entertaining an undying hatred of England, the firm idea that he and his followers were the people of the Lord, and a supreme contempt for the force of the power which had been outwitted and defeated so frequently in the Transvaal. Ignorance with prejudice reigned supreme, and in its wake followed corruption. Under the superstition based on the Old Testament, which formed the religion of Krugerism, there was no room for either the coloured man or the Uitlander. The first was expressly debarred by the Grondwet or fundamental Constitution of the State from any freedom or participation in the affairs of the Republic,¹ while the latter was a hated enemy to be plundered and persecuted. Plunder was amply secured by means of unequal

¹ In the ninth article of the Grondwet it is affirmed, "No equality either in Church or State between white and coloured." The natives are the "Zwart goed," black goods or property, the *schepsels*—mere creatures, the Gibeonites, to be used as the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white people. They may not engage in any kind of trading, such as hucksters or costermongers. No licence could be

taxation and systematic bribery, while the non-participation in the franchise contrary to the express understanding arrived at when retrocession took place was an act of the grossest injustice. Enormous sums raised by taxing Uitlanders were used for secret service purposes, which included not merely the payment of spies but subsidies to foreign and local newspapers. Nothing was too high-handed for Krugerism, nothing too dishonest, as witness the Aliens' Expulsion Act, giving power to the Executive to turn anyone out of the country, and the barefaced manner in which bribes were greedily received by the President, his officials, and confederates.¹ At the same time the foulest hypocrisy was added to injustice, and Krugerism posed as a saintly system, whose principles and practice were based on the teachings of the Bible. While quoting scripture and preaching on hell, the President was at the same time robbing and oppressing the people.

Perhaps nothing can better demonstrate the nature and character of Krugerism than the facts connected with the attempt to obtain fair play for the great obtained even by an educated and respectable coloured man for the purpose.

Of the land formerly their own they might not own a foot. Until two years ago there never was such a thing as a legal marriage among coloured persons. When this privilege was granted, a fee of £3 was insisted upon so as to put a premium on immorality.

Each native must pay two shillings for a pass and wear a metal badge on his left arm. The Cape coloured people were treated with the utmost harshness and dragged to prison on the slightest provocation.

One of the real grievances of the Voortrekkers was the abolition of slavery in the Cape Colony.

¹ For full detail with proof see *Transvaal from Within*, by J. P. Fitzpatrick. Before overwhelming evidence the platitudes about mistakes in a young Republic, other nations doing wrong, etc., fall completely to the ground.

industry on which the prosperity of the Republic was exclusively based. A commission of inquiry was appointed by the Government, comprising in its ranks their own nominees, whose report certainly did not lean unduly towards the interests of Uitlanders. The recommendations of this Board—based upon adequate evidence—proposed a policy of commonsense and justice which would benefit taxpayers generally by giving elementary fair play to the mining industry. Krugerism would have none of it. The grasping propensities of the President at last culminated in the imposition of a gold tax, providing that 30 per cent. of the output should be paid by persons or companies working their own mines; 50 per cent. by those whose mines are worked by Government; mines having suspended operations to pay 30 per cent. and profits of the output estimated on three months' working. Laws already existed prohibiting public meetings and the freedom of the Press; the franchise, although specially agreed upon at the retrocession, was made an impossibility, and generally, so far as corruption and bad government were concerned, the rule of Krugerism compared unfavourably with that of the worst South American Republic. Constitutional and other efforts had been made in vain. It is incorrect to say that the movement for reform was merely one of capitalists—all classes of Uitlanders were from the first actively engaged in it. Mass meetings were attended by thousands, while eventually a petition was sent to the Queen, signed by all classes and conditions of men, earnestly invoking the help of the British Imperial power. If there never had been

any suzerainship, and the South African Republic had been an independent power, which we know was not the case, British subjects had a right to ask their countrymen for help, and the nation which granted retrocession of the Transvaal on the understanding that equal rights among white men should continue was not only entitled to intervene but was strictly bound to do so.

The Imperial Government and that of the South African Republic held a conference at Bloemfontein in 1899, when President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, represented their respective countries. The latter clearly recognised the fact that it was necessary to narrow down the issue in the first place, and accordingly as an irreducible minimum declared that five years residence in the country should only be necessary for the obtainment of the franchise by an Uitlander. The reply was that a vote might be given after a residence of seven years, but this provision was hedged round with formalities which made it useless. In reply the Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, proposed to nominate a mixed commission. This offer was declined by the President, under the pretext that it involved interference in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. Then came proposals made on the 19th August 1899 by the South African Republic that the franchise should be conferred after five years' sojourn, the representation of Uitlanders in the Raad to be never less than a fourth, and the new electors to be allowed to vote for both the President and the Commander-in-Chief. But Mr. Kruger took care to attach to these pro-

posals three impossible conditions. These stipulations were that England would engage not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal; to abandon the suzerainty; and to agree to arbitration as soon as the five years' franchise became law.

The full union of the Orange Free State with the South African Republic had been secured, as under a real leonine contract the former country agreed to join in a quarrel when it had nothing to gain and everything to lose. Adequate armaments and munitions of war had been procured. The Boers were overweeningly proud of their former exploits, and believed that the Lord was with them, and that they were therefore invincible. Now was the time when their proud aspirations that Africa should be ruled by Afrikaners might be realised. Consequently, after temporising for some time, an insolent ultimatum was sent by the South African Republic to the Imperial Government on the 9th of October 1899, requiring Her Britannic Majesty at once to withdraw her troops from the border, prevent soldiers on the way landing in South Africa, and in other words humbly declaring herself a third-class power and giving up all claims to paramount authority in a quarter of the globe where for more than half a century she had poured forth the blood of her soldiers and the treasures of her people. Of course there could be but one reply. War was then declared by the South African Republic and its ally the Orange Free State at a time when it was well known that the United Kingdom was unprepared for its sudden declaration.

CHAPTER XII

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR

AT the time that war was imminent the British suzerain power had scattered over a huge frontier only two cavalry regiments, three field batteries, and six and a half infantry battalions, comprising in all about 6,000 men, whereas the Republics were able to put in the field 50,000 riflemen, so well mounted and acquainted with the country as to render them a most formidable foe, and to this force must be added a most excellent artillery, including the heaviest and finest guns ever employed in military service. There is no doubt that if in the first instance the Boer army had been pressed forward the conquest of all the country to D'Urban and Capetown would have been the result. Fortunately, through the exertions of the Natal Ministry the number of troops in that country was considerably increased by the despatch of 5,000 British troops from India. The arrival of other soldiers from England raised the number of troops within South Africa in September 1899 to 22,000, which was still evidently a most inadequate force.

On 2nd October 1899 the President of the Orange Free State (Mr. Steyn) informed Sir Alfred Milner,

Her Majesty's High Commissioner, that he had considered it necessary to mobilise his burghers. On October 9th the first Army Corps was called out in England, and the ultimatum from the two Presidents followed immediately after. On the 12th of this month the Boer camps at Sandspruit and Volksrust broke up, so that 12,000 mounted burghers with two batteries of eight Krupp guns each, as well as two heavy 6-inch Creusot guns, invaded British territory. There were a good many European auxiliaries and an Irish-American corps. This force was under the command of General Piet Joubert, and was styled the northern army. In addition to it were two other forces of burghers converging upon Natal with a strength of over 25,000 men.

On the 13th of October the Boer forces occupied Charlestown at the top angle of Natal, and two days after reached Newcastle. On the 15th six of the Natal Police were surrounded and captured at one of the drifts of the Buffalo River. The Battle of Talana Hill occurred on the 20th, when our infantry flew straight at the enemy's throat and the cavalry moved off round his left flank. After a very brave charge amid a storm of bullets, waving helmets on the crest signified that the hill was taken. On this occasion the Boer loss was 300 killed and wounded, and that of the British fifty killed and 180 wounded. In another direction two troops of Hussars and one company of the Dublin Fusiliers, after having fought bravely, were outnumbered by the enemy, and had to lay down their

arms. It was soon found that the Boers being more numerous and their guns more powerful, a retreat to Ladismith was necessary. This was effected safely, but with very considerable difficulty.

On the 20th of October the British line was cut between Dundee and Ladismith by a small body of horsemen, who preceded a large commando under General Koch. General French, with Lancers, Carabineers, infantry, and the Imperial Light Horse Regiment, recruited from the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, went out to meet them. The Battle of Elandslaagte followed, when the British idea was to take the Boer position by means of a front and a flank attack. Amidst a deluge of rain and terrific fire from big guns, which were immensely superior to those of the British, one of the bravest charges on record took place. Scores of men fell before they saw their enemy, but at last they reached him, lurking behind rocks, and drove him to retreat and surrender. This brilliant action immensely inspirited our soldiers, and its success was of such a character as to induce them to say that Majuba had been avenged. On this occasion 250 Boers were killed and wounded and about 200 taken prisoners. The British losses consisted of forty-one killed and 220 wounded.

General White, now in supreme command in Natal, felt that his first duty was to secure the safety of Ladismith, in which immense supplies of great value had been stored. Then the action of Rietfontein was fought to secure a safe road for the forces retiring from Dundee, who then traversed

the dangerous Biggarsberg Passes. The Boers had thus succeeded in making our position at Dundee untenable and forcing the entire British force back into Ladismith. They had also captured 200 of our cavalry. On the other hand, we had more than once driven them from their positions, as well as captured two guns and a number of prisoners.

General White was determined to fight a battle before being shut up in Ladismith, and an attempt was made to seize Nicholson's Nek. A very unsatisfactory action resulted when the great superiority of the Boer guns was felt. Grimwood's three advanced battalions, which held the ridge for five hours, were ordered to fall back because it looked as if the enemy were about to rush the town of Ladismith from the other side. While a terrible 96-pounder, quite safe and out of range, was firing enormous projectiles into our retreating troops, it soon became evident that retreat might be changed into rout at any moment. At this most critical time the arrival by train of bluejackets with 12-pounder quick-firing guns produced a remarkable effect. So well did Captain Lambton and his men do their work that the masterful guns of the enemy found their superiors and were silenced, so as to enable our almost exhausted field force to march back into Ladismith after leaving no fewer than 500 of their number behind. The small column, only 1,000 strong, which had been sent out to prevent the junction of the two Boer armies was very unfortunate. Their mules stampeded, with the result that guns and ammunition were lost; and after a most

unequal fight, lasting nine and a half hours, the little force was obliged to hoist the white flag and surrender. Ladismith now lay apparently at the mercy of the Boers.

In another direction a considerable force of the enemy, under General Cronje, proceeded to attack Mafeking, while Kimberley was invested by a force under the command of Botha and Wessels. In the latter place Colonel Kekewich, the commandant, had at his disposal 700 regular troops as well as a body of Kimberley Light Horse and a battery of light 7-pounders. There were also eight Maxims mounted on mounds of mining débris. A few police who held Vryburg, in Bechuanaland, had to abandon that town and retreat to Kimberley. While several thousands of the enemy besieged a place which contained Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the richest diamond mines of the world, its relief became evidently one of the first tasks to be undertaken by the masses of British troops now pouring into South Africa. It was clear that the base of such a movement must be Orange River, and consequently stores for the advance were quickly accumulated there and at De Aar. At the last-named place stores to the value of over £3,000,000 were guarded by a force of less than 3,000 men.

Lord Methuen's advance to the relief of Kimberley, only sixty miles distant from his base, was attended with the greatest difficulty and bloodshed. The troops at Belmont, Enslin, Graspan, and other places had to advance against natural rocky fortresses, where kopje after kopje was captured with great

loss of life on our side. These frontal attacks proved most expensive, and gave the Boers a perfect opportunity of exercising their skill as marksmen from protected positions. 'The hardest won victory in our annals of war,' as Lord Methuen styled it, took place at Modder River, when the British were practically surprised on their onward march and enveloped in a frightful Mauser and cannon fire from a concealed foe. Fortunately the British artillery gained the upper hand eventually, and afterwards a flanking party succeeded in crossing the river. After a dreadful conflict the Boers retreated in the night, taking their heavy guns with them.

In one week Lord Methuen lost in killed and wounded fully a tenth portion of his force, and he now wanted some time to await reinforcements. In the meantime General Cronje with enormous pains entrenched himself in a most formidable position. This was attacked on the night of Sunday December 10th by the Highland Brigade, 9th Lancers, and other troops, under General Wauchope, who fell in action. They advanced in close formation absolutely without knowledge of where they were going, and suddenly when at close range were met by a crashing point-blank fire of a specially murderous character as it plunged into masses of men before they were able to extend. We are told that 'men went down in swathes, and a howl of rage and agony, heard afar over the veldt, swelled up from the frantic and struggling crowd. The head of the brigade broke, and, disentangling themselves with difficulty from

the dead and dying, fled back out of the accursed place.' Before they were able to do this, six hundred of their number lay stretched upon the ground. At daylight a re-formation took place, but subsequently a large number retreated, and it became evident that a renewed attack was out of the question. It was only possible to capture the Boer position by means of outflanking, and our force was not sufficiently numerous.

The invasion of the Cape Colony, which took place through Colesberg, resulted in the Boers occupying a very strong position at Stormberg, to the attack of which General Gatacre advanced with a force of 3,000 men. His troops were misled, and when morning broke were terribly wearied. They were fired on when in close formation, and they attempted to take ledges which could not be climbed. All the infantry who remained on the hillside, as well as two guns, were captured, and the rest of the force retreated to Molteno. The disaffected in the colony were now greatly encouraged when they saw Methuen's road to Kimberley was barred. Sir Redvers Buller now arrived to take supreme command, and all eyes were turned to Natal, which formed the field of his operations.

In the beginning of November 1899 the siege of Ladismith commenced, and on the 10th of the same month the Boers held Colenso and the line of the Tugela. Sir Redvers Buller lost no time in massing at Chieveley to prepare his troops for crossing the river and marching to the relief of Ladismith. On Friday December 15th a frontal

attack was made upon an exceedingly strong Boer position by regiments which comprised the flower of the British army. No braver men ever went into battle. In the artillery were sixteen naval guns, fourteen of which were 12-pounders. The total force comprised 21,000 men. Again in quarter column were the men led up to the terrible fire of the concealed enemy. At the drift our troops were exposed to a very heavy cross-fire, while they were rained upon by shrapnel. All this time no Boers were visible. Our troops had walked into a trap. Then the men could find no ford, and although our big guns had silenced the artillery of the enemy, the deadly firing of their riflemen proceeded steadily. An order for retreat was given after between five and six hundred men had fallen. On another part of the field a body of British troops reached Colenso after the loss of two hundred of their number. At an early period in the battle two field batteries under Colonel Long unlimbered within seven hundred yards of the enemy's trenches, with the result that a deluge of lead fell over them, and the guns were captured by the enemy—not, however, before an attempt to rescue them, in which Lieutenant Roberts, the son of the famous Field Marshal, was killed. In other directions the forces under Dundonald were too weak and Barton's brigade was inoperative, so that the first attempt at the relief of Ladismith ended in a disastrous manner. On this occasion 1,200 men were lost in killed, wounded, and missing, and the lesson was learned that it is eminently unwise

to fight on ground specially prepared by the enemy.

In one week, from the 10th to the 17th December 1899, the British forces in South Africa lost 3,000 men and twelve guns, while the indirect effects in connection with the encouragement given to the enemy were very important. Two days after the Battle of Colenso the supervision and direction of the whole campaign were placed in the hands of Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff. All the remaining army reserves were despatched, the 7th Division (10,000 men) was ordered out, while eleven militia battalions as well as yeomanry and colonial contingents made the new force amount to 100,000 men. A lull in the war ensued, while the arrival of the 5th Division under Sir Charles Warren and the 6th Division under General Kelly Kenny were expected. At this time Kuruman, the only fortified post ever taken by the Boers, fell into their hands. Methuen entrenched himself at Modder River, and Cronje extended his position and strengthened his works. A force under Colonel Pilcher made a dashing raid, took Douglas, and captured a number of rebels, who were sent down for trial to Capetown. Then came a cavalry excursion on the 9th of January, which was the first force that invaded the Free State.

After the disaster at Stormberg Gatacre held his ground, but no advance was for a long period possible. The disaster at Colenso necessitated large reinforcements, and these poured in until General

Buller's army amounted to more than 30,000 men. The siege of Ladismith commenced on October 30th 1899, when with superior guns the Boers were able to check our infantry and render our cavalry useless. Sir George White abandoned the outer hills and retained his horsemen in the town. The Boer commandoes quickly closed in on the south and east, and on the 2nd of November the last train escaped under a brisk fire. The bombardment of the attacking guns was very heavy, coming from 96-pounder Creusot guns and other heavy artillery. To these were opposed the navy guns of Captain Lambton which had providentially arrived, those which had been saved from a mountain battery, and two old-fashioned Howitzers. Two serious attacks were made in daylight, but both of these were very successfully repulsed, and then a waiting game was tried. It has been correctly said that if Ladismith had fallen with its garrison of 10,000 men and its stores worth a million pounds sterling, then Great Britain would have been forced to face the alternative of either abandoning the struggle, or of reconquering South Africa from Capetown northwards. South Africa in this war proved the keystone of the empire, and in the crisis to which we are now referring Ladismith was the key of South Africa. If in the first instance the besiegers had merely masked their force and with their main body advanced boldly to the coast, then in all probability the Boers would have reached the sea. But while they delayed reinforcements poured into D'Urban.

A very well planned and dashing exploit took

place on the 8th of December, when 600 men, all irregulars, under General Hunter, surprised a strong position of the enemy, destroyed a Creusot gun as well as a Howitzer, and carried off a Maxim. On the 6th of January 1900 a determined attack was made by the Boers on Ladismith. The storming party consisted of hundreds of picked Transvaal men under De Villiers, supported by eighteen heavy guns, and a strong force comprising several thousand riflemen. They attacked at two o'clock, drove in outposts, and then endeavoured to carry the ridge extending from Cæsar's Camp to Wagon's Hill. If this had been taken the town would have fallen. A fearful fight ensued, when the Manchesters, Gordons, and Imperial Light Horse distinguished themselves greatly. Our 53rd Field Battery served their guns exceedingly well. The fight lasted all day, and at last the Devon Regiment, admirably led, with the Gordons, Rifles, and Light Horse, drove the enemy before them and cleared the ridge. Nearly 800 of the Boers were killed and wounded; while our losses, although not so great, amounted to 135 men killed and 120 wounded.

An invasion of the colony from the Orange Free State now took place, when not only were Colesberg, Dordrecht, and several smaller places occupied, but a large number of colonists of Dutch extraction went over to the enemy. In spite of a disaster which occurred, when 11 officers and 150 men of the Suffolk Regiment were taken prisoners, and subsequent losses of a less important character, General

French succeeded in keeping the enemy in check until at last the general advance of Lord Roberts' army caused a reversal of the military situation. The primary object of our operations in this portion of South Africa was to prevent the advance of the Free State Boers into the colony, and this was fortunately accomplished with little loss.

All eyes were now turned upon the operations of Sir Redvers Buller in Natal, where the relief of Ladismith was absolutely necessary. A month had elapsed since the disaster at Colenso, and since then Sir Charles Warren's division of infantry and a large reinforcement of artillery had arrived. Now 22,000 men, of whom only 3,000 were cavalry, with 60 guns went forth to outflank the Boers. They crossed the Tugela River, and then, as a recent writer remarks, 'Far away on the horizon a little shining point twinkled amid the purple haze, coming and going from morning to night. It was the heliograph of Ladismith explaining her troubles and calling for help, and from the heights of Mount Alice an answering star of hope glimmered and shone, soothing, encouraging, explaining, while the stern men of the veldt dug furiously at the trenches in between. "We are coming! We are coming!" cried Mount Alice. "Over our bodies," said the men with the spades and mattocks.'¹ A series of terrible entrenchments, held by Boer sharpshooters, lay right across the advance of the British army on the edge of a lofty plateau, of which Spion Kop formed the left corner. On steadily proceeded our soldiers,

¹ *The Great Boer War*, by A. Conan Doyle, p. 251.

capturing slowly but surely each position of the enemy, until, on the 22nd January 1900, the Boer position, Spion Kop, was easily taken in a night attack. When daylight came the General (Woodgate) saw that without guns he held half the plateau, and that the Boers were strongly entrenched at the further end. But, worse still, other eminences were discernible on which large guns and riflemen were posted. For fully twelve hours a rain of fire swept the open plain on which our forces stood. The Boers' invisible cannon were most efficient, while those of our troops below seemed never to find the range of the enemy. The place indeed became a murderous trap, and no reinforcements could alter its character. It was extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey heavy guns to this giddy height. A brave division of our troops, although successful in gaining certain heights, did no real good. At last Colonel Thorneycroft, who was in command, cried out, 'Better six battalions safely down the hill than a mop up in the morning,' and gave the order 'to retire.' On this occasion the Boer guns enabled them to win the action. Fifteen hundred of our troops were killed, wounded, and missing. The Imperial Light Horse alone lost 139 men, and the total loss in General Buller's army since he crossed the Tugela amounted to nearly 2,000 men.

Again Ladismith was disappointed. Rations of miserable half-starved horses and mules were running low, typhoid was rampant, and a heavy perpetual bombardment went on. General Buller now cap-

tured the Boer position at Vaalkranz, but his operations afterwards were carried on with such lethargy as to compel the British army to act on the defensive. At last a plan was adopted of outflanking the enemy, which was gallantly carried out over a succession of hills—the crest of the Monte Christo ridge was cleared, and then the Boer trenches which faced Buller were thus made untenable, and he was able to take possession of the strong position of the enemy at Hlangwane and Green Hill. Then far away through the haze could be seen the roofs of Ladismith. Thousands of Free Staters left for their own country, but still the Boers remaining carried on a tenacious resistance behind entrenched positions. The final advance now took place, when, after an unsuccessful frontal attack on Pieter's Hill, the 5th Brigade, under Hart, kept the Boers in hand on the right, when Buller moved his centre and left across the river and then back so as to surround the enemy. After hard fighting all the intervening kopjes were taken, the Boers fled, and Ladismith was relieved. This town had endured an incessant siege as well as two very severe assaults, and one tenth of our men there had died of wounds or disease. The relieving army's losses comprised over 5,000 men, or more than a fifth of the entire army.

The siege of Kimberley commenced on the 12th of October 1899. It continued with many vicissitudes until the 15th of February 1900. During this period the inhabitants suffered heavily from want of food and the heavy fire of the enemy. Mr. Rhodes and

De Beers Company co-operated with Colonel Keke-wich, the military commandant, in doing everything that was possible for the people, and, fortunately, no assault was made upon the town. Indeed, the military operations, so far as Kimberley is concerned, should be styled rather an investment or blockade than a siege. No doubt the fear of the explosion of secret mines prevented the Boers trying to do here what they attempted at Ladismith.

Lord Methuen's force advancing to the relief of Kimberley had, as we have seen, been seriously stopped at Magersfontein. Lord Roberts, the new Commander-in-Chief, with Lord Kitchener and General French, now made the Modder River the base of new and extensive operations. Cronje's position had to be attacked, and a feint was made upon his left under Macdonald. Then followed some brilliant strategic movements, the most striking of which was the forced rapid march of General French with a very large body of cavalry, which successfully cleared a way through the Boer lines and entered Kimberley. Cronje thought it advisable to retreat. Now the British infantry established themselves upon the left flank of the Boer army, and cut it off from Bloemfontein. Our army amounted to more than 24,000 foot and 8,000 horse with ninety-eight guns. Seven hundred wagons, drawn by 11,000 mules and oxen, accompanied it. Cronje's army, reduced by desertion and death to 6,000 men, burst through the British lines, but he found it impossible, without abandoning the guns, to make his escape. At last he was brought to bay at the Paardeberg Drift on the

Modder River. An attack was made by Lord Kitchener, which resulted in serious loss, but soon the Boer position was so invested that, in spite of vain attempts from the south to render him assistance, Cronje was forced to surrender, and subsequently with most of his force deported to St. Helena.

Within a fortnight a wonderful change had taken place, so much so that Lord Roberts, like Cæsar, might almost have composed a despatch in three words—"Veni, vidi, vici." As a recent writer says: "On February 14th Kimberley was in danger of capture, a victorious Boer army was facing Methuen, the line of Magersfontein appeared impregnable, Clements was being pressed at Colesberg, Gatacre was stopped at Stormberg, Buller could not pass the Tugela, and Ladismith was in a perilous position. On the 28th Kimberley had been relieved, the Boer army was scattered or taken, the lines of Magersfontein were in our possession, Clements found his assailants retiring before him, Gatacre was able to advance at Stormberg, Buller had a weakening army in front of him, and Ladismith was on the eve of relief . . . A single master hand had in an instant turned England's night to day."¹

Lord Roberts, in advancing upon Bloemfontein, endeavoured to surround the enemy, who fled immediately they saw our cavalry endeavouring to outflank them. Their General (De Wet) protected his guns so successfully with skirmishers as to provide for their retirement and that of the two

¹ *The Great Boer War*, by A. Conan Doyle, p. 341.

Presidents, Kruger and Steyn, who were with the Boers encouraging them to fight. At Poplars Grove a small body of Dutch farmers successfully bluffed an overwhelming force of cavalry, and so retarded their progress as to save the position. Another action was fought at Driefontein, and at last, after a deputation had declared that Bloemfontein surrendered, the capital of the Orange Free State was entered in triumph on 13th March 1900.

An attempt was unsuccessfully made by the Boers to defeat the force under General Clements near Colesberg, which, if successful, would have resulted in enabling the enemy to cut Lord Roberts' lines of communication. Then the Free State burghers were told by Steyn, in a telegram to General De Wet, that if they were unable to hold positions they were "to come here as quickly as circumstances will allow, as matters are taking a serious turn." A retreat then took place, and Norvals Pont Bridge was blown up. Profiting by the successes of Lord Roberts, the town of Molteno was reoccupied by Gatacre, and the Boers began to retreat before him. They were pressed back with great vigour by the colonial forces under Brigadier-General Brabant, which occupied Dordrecht after a successful action, then again defeated the enemy at Labuschagne's Nek. Various colonial towns were subsequently recaptured, and the rebellion in the north-eastern portion of the colony was virtually killed.

After remaining six weeks in Bloemfontein for the purpose of replacing 10,000 horses and mules, as well as other supplies, used up in a quick vic-

torious march, the advance of the main army was resumed on May 1st 1900. A proclamation had been issued promising protection to all inhabitants who should bring in their arms and settle upon their farms, while stringent effective orders were issued against looting and personal violence. Three hundred Boers formed a successful trap for our troops at Sannah's Post, into which General Broadwood's force marched unsuspectingly, with the loss of 30 officers and 300 men killed, wounded, and missing, 100 wagons, a large quantity of stores, and seven 12-pounder guns. This victory left the enemy in possession of the Bloemfontein waterworks, and was a deplorable instance of the losses which may occur through the absence of efficient scouting when marching through an enemy's country. This disaster was shortly afterwards followed by another at Reddersburg, when five companies without artillery, detached from Gatacre's force, were obliged to surrender to a greatly superior body of the enemy. About this time occurred the capture of sixty foreigners at Boshof, fighting for the Boers under a Frenchman named De Villebois-Mareuil, who was shot in action.

We had eleven divisions of infantry in the field. Nevertheless, the war spread over immense tracts of territory, and although the Boers under De Wet had scored several successes, Lord Roberts thought it wise to disregard side issues, strengthen his main army, and advance direct on Pretoria. The Commander-in-Chief, knowing Wepener could hold out, allowed it to be besieged unsuccessfully for eighteen

days, in order to keep a large force of the enemy around it. Subsequently 13,000 of our men advanced on De Wet, and endeavoured to spread a net for his capture, which he skilfully evaded. Louis Botha was the Dutch General-in-Chief, and certainly showed himself a leader of very great ability. It is true that our troops were foiled in cutting off his army, but at least, in attempting to do this, the south-east of the Free State was cleared. Enteric fever, chiefly caused by bad water, had placed 8,000 of our men in hospitals. The time, however, had come for another great advance. The first town reached was Brandfort, from which the Boers were driven, and our army then advanced northward with scarcely any check. No stand even was made at Kroonstad, which was declared by President Steyn to be the new seat of government of the Free State. Lindley was the next capital chosen.

Buller now advanced from Natal, irresistibly driving the enemy before him, and proceeded into the Transvaal. On the 26th of May the main army under Lord Roberts crossed the Vaal River at Viljoen's Drift, and although the Boers had made some preparations for resistance on the line of railway, these were rendered nugatory by wide turning movements of our cavalry on the flanks. The bulk of the Free Staters refused to leave their country. At last, after very little fighting, a portion of our army camped outside Johannesburg on May 30th, and on the following day the British flag floated over the greatest and richest town in South Africa, with its streets of valuable properties uninjured and

its great gold mines intact. Pretoria was practically undefended, as, after artillery fire had lasted a short time, the British army easily entered the political capital of the Transvaal on the 5th of June 1900. Already the Orange River Free State had been officially declared the Orange River Colony, and subsequently in due course that territory which had been claimed by the South African Republic, became the Transvaal dependency of the Queen.

We must now refer to the siege of Mafeking, which lasted from October 19th 1899 to May 15th 1900. The town owed its preservation to the wonderful bravery, sagacity, and endurance of Colonel (now General) Baden-Powell, Colonel Gould Adams, Lord Edward Cecil, Colonel Hore, and the other brave officers and men who constituted the garrison. The entire force consisted of irregular troops comprising 340 of the Protectorate Regiment, 170 police, 200 volunteers, and the town guard of residents. The whole amounted to about 900 men, and their artillery was very feeble, comprising only two 7-pounder toy guns and six machine guns. The defences were planned by Colonel Vyvyan and Major Panzera; while the town was exceedingly well victualled for a very long siege in consequence principally of the exertions of Mr. Benjamin Weil. On October 16th the Boers brought up two 12-pounder guns, and before the 20th of that month no fewer than 5,000 Boers, under General Cronje, had beleaguered the town. Twelve hundred men required to hold a position whose circumference exceeded five miles, and an ingenious system of small forts was

adopted. Most effective arrangements were made for defence, and in spite of a very heavy and continuous bombardment, rendered more telling by the Boers bringing across from Pretoria an enormous gun which threw a 96-pound shell, the result was futile. Successful sorties were the reply, as the garrison possessed no heavy guns. The attacks of the Boers were repelled with heavy loss; and seemingly in revenge they deliberately turned their guns upon the women's quarters inside Mafeking. A gun which threw large shells was constructed by the besieged.

A Rhodesian force too small for the purpose under Colonel Plumer endeavoured to relieve Mafeking. At last the Boers made a supreme attempt to capture the place by an attack of 300 volunteers under Eloff, which resulted in their commander with 117 of his followers laying down their arms and becoming prisoners, while the rest fled. This was the last attack. Colonel Mahon, with a force of irregular horse and yeomanry, shortly afterwards entered the besieged town, and Mafeking was relieved. The garrison had lost 200 men, but by their magnificent and lengthened defence prevented the invasion of Rhodesia and detained many thousand Boers for a period of eight months. It is noticeable that the Imperial Light Horse, principally composed of Johannesburg men, comprised a principal portion of the relieving force. Not only here, but during the entire war, they distinguished themselves exceedingly.

After the fall of Pretoria the chief and most able Dutch leaders proved to be De Wet, Prinsloo, and

Olivier, but it would be confusing and uninteresting to recapitulate the minor events of the campaign. Buller came up from Natal, the railways were put in working order, and many of the fights were connected with retaining possession of the main lines of communication. The Boers north of Ficksburg were successfully hemmed in, and on the 30th of July Prinsloo's army surrendered, consisting of more than 5,000 men with three guns. After this operations were generally of a guerilla nature. Pretoria had been vainly attacked, and a plot to carry off the General miscarried, but De Wet's operations were successful, and no efforts to capture him were effective. On the 11th of September Paul Kruger, the former President of the Transvaal, became a refugee from his country and fled to Europe. Lord Roberts, the distinguished and successful General (now appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army) left South Africa to take up his position in England in December 1900, Lord Kitchener taking the South African command in his stead.

A very large proportion of people of Dutch extraction in the Cape Colony sympathised so much with their kindred and friends in the Orange River Colony and Transvaal as to give rise to alarms and complications. Special praise should be given to the loyal minority who adhered thoroughly to British rule. In the session of the Cape Colony Parliament of 1899 Mr. Schreiner's administration resigned, and was succeeded by a ministry of "Progressives," with Sir Gordon Sprigg as Premier. As

the result of an agreement with Mr. Schreiner and a few members of Parliament who acted with him, an arrangement was made to introduce a Treason Bill, providing for the punishment of ringleaders, but that the mere rank and file should be subjected only to the loss of the franchise for five years. This indeed seems to have been the best terms obtainable; but the Afrikaner party, assisted by Messrs. Merriman and Sauer, ministers of the previous cabinet, vehemently protested against this policy, and demanded complete amnesty for all rebels who had not been ringleaders. After a very protracted and severe struggle the measure became law in October 1900, and the courts necessitated by it were at once constituted and proceeded to try prisoners.

A serious agitation went on in South Africa among the Afrikaners in favour of the Dutch Republics, and their arguments were replied to by the Vigilance Committee, the League, and other associations. Her Majesty's Ministry supported the policy of Sir Alfred Milner. Their object was, while discouraging rebellion, to bring the two white races of the country into peace and amity.

The answer was an incendiary public meeting at Worcester, and anti-British deliverances both from the Dutch Reformed pulpits and various Afrikaner newspapers.

While these pages are published a guerilla war is proceeding which must soon be crushed, and the Afrikaner Bond teaching bears fruit in widespread disaffection in the Cape Colony. It is indeed lamentable that there should be such gross ingratitude

among the people upon whom the Imperial Government has showered every favour. They not only received the gift of managing their own affairs under a responsible system of government, but Britain has poured forth the blood of her soldiers and the treasures of her people in conquering the numerous savage foes who successively threatened not merely the independence but the existence of the white people of South Africa. Let us trust that reason will soon assert its sway, and that people of all nationalities will, for mutual interests, endeavour to accept the inevitable, promote amity among themselves, and thus pave the way for a successful South African federated Dominion under the British Crown.

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